

Missouri Historical Review



Published by
State Historical Society Missouri
October 1943

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Missouri Historical Review

Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

Volume XXXVIII

Number One

October 1943



The *Missouri Historical Review* is published quarterly. It is sent free to all members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Membership dues in the Society are \$1.00 a year. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors to the magazine.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 422."



Contents

	Page
MISSOURI, CROSSROADS OF THE NATION. By <i>Wiley B. Rutledge</i>	1
TRACES IN EARLY MISSOURI, 1700-1804. By <i>Martha May Wood</i>	12
A SNAPSHOT OF ALEXANDER W. DONIPHAN, 1808-1887. By <i>Frederic A. Culmer</i>	25
THE OLD ST. JO Gazette. By <i>Frederic M. Pumphrey</i>	33
MISSOURI AND THE WAR. By <i>Juliet M. Gross</i>	44
MISSOURIANA.....	63
Stump Speaking and Fence Mending.....	63
Murder to Music.....	69
Furs, Shinplaster, and Pennies.....	73
West With Pike.....	77
Missouri Miniatures—Robert Somers Brookings, James Gay Butler.....	82
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri— <i>The Adventures of Tom Sawyer</i> . Review by <i>Morris Anderson</i>	85
Missouri Scrapbook.....	93
HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.....	95
Members Active in Increasing Society's Membership.....	95
New Members of the Society, May-July 1943.....	96
<i>St. Louis in Former Years</i>	98
Gregg Manuscript.....	99
Weekly Feature Articles of the Society.....	99
Graduate Theses Relating to Missouri.....	100
Activities of County Historical Societies.....	103
Anniversaries.....	104
Monuments and Memorials.....	106
Notes.....	107
Historical Publications.....	109
Obituaries.....	113
MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.....	119
<i>Missouri and Missourians</i>	119
The Battle of the Sink-Hole.....	120
The Zoot Suit of 1818.....	121

Contents—Continued.	Page
And Wooden Nickels.....	122
Buyer Beware!.....	122
Off With the Pikers!.....	122
Selling Chickens to the Legislature.....	122
Missouri.....	124
Missouri Historical Data in Magazines.....	125

Illustrations

- "THE SAME OLD TUNE." Cover design drawn by *William A. Knox* from political woodcut in *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), June 7, 1844. See "Stump Speaking and Fence Mending," p. 63.
- "TOM AND HUCK." By *William A. Knox*..... 86

MISSOURI, CROSSROADS OF THE NATION

BY WILEY B. RUTLEDGE¹

Most men are wealthy in having one home. I have had many. All are dear. Each has brought something of its own distinctive value and permanent influence. I would not give up the tradition and the blood tie of the South. Or the space, light, and freedom of the Mountain West. Or the rich earthiness and Jeffersonian equality of Iowa. Or the forward outlook of Wisconsin, the salt of Indiana. From each of these separate backgrounds, one is conscious of peculiar diversities in his past. There is, therefore, special feeling for Whitman's refrain, "I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear"—carols from Carolina and Colorado, from Kentucky, and Louisiana, and California. In his day, as now, there was diversity in the cities and states and regions of the nation. And as one returns to each scene of his earlier life, the old and peculiar familiarities come back to make him at home again.

Whitman was stranger to no place in America. No aspect of her life, whether in Pennsylvania or Oregon, in Minnesota or Texas, was alien to his nature or feeling. For, varied as were the carols he heard from each, they united in a dominant theme. It was America he heard singing from New England to Arizona and from Florida to Idaho. Cavalier and Puritan, carpenter, counting-house keeper, farmer, logger, miner, railroader, all joined voices in a common anthem. For him each was a manifestation, not simply of its own diversity, but of the harmony all together made.

Even the discord gave emphasis to the unity of the theme. And in the music of words his poet's soul gave its unique form

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This speech was delivered April 26 before the annual meeting of the Washington university Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. Arno J. Haack, director, kindly consented to the printing of the speech here.

to what Jefferson, Webster, and Lincoln had put in high prose. "All men are created equal . . . inalienable rights . . . just rights derived from the consent of the governed," "liberty *and* union, now and forever, one and inseparable," "on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty . . . a great struggle testing whether . . . any nation so conceived . . . can long endure . . . a new birth of freedom . . . that government of the people . . . shall not perish. . . ."

For nine years, longer than elsewhere, I lived and worked in Missouri. St. Louis was my home, this university my workshop. One does not live and work so long without deep and lasting attachment to people and place.

Missouri lies at the nation's heart. That is true geographically. Here is the crossroads of the country's past. Historically, culturally and in other ways, you bear the impress of your central location. For that reason, among others, no state quite so typically unites in herself the nation's varied elements. The three centuries preceding our own were centuries of motion, as is ours, but with this difference. The movement was generally in one direction—west—whereas now we move, but toward all points of the compass. Here then before the day of your fathers came two of Europe's great driving forces, the French and the Spanish, to take the land, inhabit it, and make a new home for western man. These great influences make you in all of your inheritance. The very names of the towns and streets perpetuate their flavor. Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, St. Louis, New Madrid, Kingshighway, Laclede, Chouteau, Lafayette, all bring the past of your father's living into your own lives.

Then came the great cession, through the hand of Jefferson, whom your riverfront now memorializes, more appropriately perhaps than the new monument in Washington. For if he had written the great declaration, yet failed to purchase Louisiana, his work would have been done perhaps by less than half. And, with that vast expansion of our boundaries, came the great free British tradition, cut loose from monarchical restraint, adding its strength to the vast natural

freedoms of space and light in the western half of the continent. This gave the nation power to overcome the divisions then forming in the East and the South, without which the outcome of that struggle might well have been fatal. Another and a dominant element became incorporated in your civilization.

Not long afterward came a fourth. The upsurge toward freedom in Europe was pushing men and women out of Germany. Many of them came here and brought another rich constituent to your culture and life. With that, the great layers were finished. Afterward there were infiltrations but there were no massive additions.

Then began your melting pot. And into it swept currents from all points east. New England and Pennsylvania, Kentucky, the Carolinas, Tennessee—from the haunts of the Puritan, the cotton fields and the mountains of the South, men came to stay, others to go on to more distance places. They brought with them their divisions, now sharpened by the mounting conflict over slavery and economic advantage.

Henry Clay saw at once your mission. Since his day Missouri has been a great and continuing compromise. Here culture has met culture; language has given way to language; ideas and institutions have clashed and fought, some to perish, others to survive, none to remain unmodified by the conflict. As you have embodied in miniature the nation's grand passions, at times you have been unable to resolve the conflict and your only course has been to let the emotions run out.

Your topography has added its own influences of diversity. As in Kentucky, the planter has tilled the more fertile regions and created a life distinct from the mores of your southern hills. There, in the Ozarks, men withdrew from the currents flowing all around them and preserved until of late an existence anomalous in its time. While they kept alive the speech, the thought, and the ways of living long gone all around, your cities grew and brought to you both the wealth and the problems of urban, industrial life.

All these things, and others, have given you diversities, even deepseated and to some extent ineradicable divisions

which only the influences of time could surmount. But because you have been so much southern, you could not be northern. Being so largely eastern, you have never been entirely of the west. The British tradition has become dominant through its American translation and independence. But you have not escaped wholly the French, the Spanish, the German. The country of Harold Bell Wright remains. But so does that of Mark Twain. Life in Mexico, Sedalia, and Boonville is the life of Main street. But beside it and along with it flows the life, it not of Wall street, then of Pittsburgh or Cleveland.

I would not discount the adverse effects of these divisions, conflicts, and contradictions. They could not do otherwise than produce markings in your character as a community. One has been that too often and for too long you have let things ride which needed to be driven. There has not been, for instance, the same united and continuous forward movement some other states, more homogeneous, have made in cultural advantages for all or the opportunity to have them. At times you have tolerated political corruption few other states would abide. It takes a lot of punishment to make Missouri clean house. At other periods you have put up with sheer inefficiency in public affairs which few communities would accept. Nor have you made full use, I think, in accordance with your capacity for philanthropic and other adventures of your resources, in support of your own institutions for research and advancement of knowledge. The specifications need not be lengthened. These and other manifestations of your character as a people go to show that in some degree you are too content with things as they are or, if not content, unwilling to pay the price in energy required for change. And these traits, if they are such, have deep roots in your origins and the differences of which they are constituted.

But in them is also your strength. And from them have come values which more than offset the contrary effects. One may be "from Missouri" without being stubborn. And will any one tell me when he last heard reference to the proverbial "Missouri mule" or, for that matter, the business of "kickin' my hound around?" These are lingos of a day now gone.

But their influence hangs over to our time in what I prefer to regard as a healthy conservatism that is the essence of continuity and stability in community life. As so much you have done in the last fifteen years demonstrates, you are not unwilling to make change. You merely want to be sure that change can be made and, when made, will be progress, not too doubtful experiment. You have a hearty respect for the way things have been done. Often you adhere to the old ways too long. But once you are convinced change is required, you make it in your own sweet time and way. I shall specify an instance or two.

When I came to St. Louis in 1926, it was a horse-and-buggy town. Half a day was required for going down town from this campus and back. The city was buried in soot. The river front was a shambles of delapidated buildings or huts from two generations back. The Municipal bridge had no rail approaches. Circuit judges were appointed, through the forms of election, by political bosses. Malpractice was rife, and with little restraint, in the practice of law, though the great majority of the bar deprecated the condition, hopeless for remedy. Nathaniel Lyon did not grace Grand avenue. Norse nymphs did not cavort before Union station. Another city was ruled by a machine reaching out for power in the State, later secured. There was no civic center. The civil courts had no adequate habitation. Had I been told then or a year later that in fifteen years all these things would be changed for what you now have in their places, including Nathaniel Lyon, I simply should not have believed it.

But all have been changed. You have a city with a modern transportation system. It is smoke free. Trains move over the bridge. Municipal and Aloe plazas open up your urban vistas and house appropriately your municipal and other public enterprises. Jefferson awaits enthronement at the river front. Equal progress has been made in your political affairs. All this has been done with a great depression intervening.

In short, one should be proud to be a citizen of St. Louis and of Missouri. There is progress, steady and solid, here. Change, not decay, all around I see. Your natural inertia

has been overcome. Your achievements would do credit to any state and any city. They have not been so spectacular as in some others. But they have been done in the best Missouri, and therefore typically American, manner.

What has been done is in itself matter for pride. But it is also the expression of a people's spirit. Nor are the things I have mentioned its only one. In the process of continuous compromise and merger which has been Missouri's history, great traditions and institutions have been built and perpetuated to make these things possible.

Foremost, I think, is your attachment to free thought and its expression, particularly through the press. A state and a city with such a background of diversity in the origins and thinking of its people hardly could tolerate suppressions in these things. But, more than most of our people, you have gone beyond mere absence of suppression. You have here, certainly in your larger cities, and I think throughout the State, perhaps the finest tradition of both a free and an adequate press the nation affords. News is brought to you without coloration or diminution, in selection or expression by the financial interest of the publishers. That can be said, perhaps, of too few large cities of the nation. Editorial policy is vigorous and diversified. The daily impact of these things means an informed and a thinking citizenry.

You do not lack in men of courage to speak out when they see what they think is wrong. You have wealth, but it is not concentrated in a few very great fortunes that dominate the industrial and commercial life and with them the means of disseminating thought and information among your people. There are too many smaller ones to permit this.

Finally, I shall mention only one other influence. That is found in your free institutions of higher learning. And I refer now, in particular, to the university where we foregather. It was founded by a man who would tolerate no fetters of the mind. For that reason he gave it freedom from the control of his own church. Throughout the succeeding years, certainly in those of my acquaintance, that tradition has been maintained, at times against odds. Men here have been free to think and to speak out. That heritage is priceless. It is

the very soul of a university. Without it, truth and error alike must sneak their ways from consciousness to consciousness. What has been the total of the influence of this institution upon the lives of the community, the state, and the nation no one can measure. But it has been great and one in which all of us take pride. It could not have been if the tongues of men who have lived and worked here had been tied. And for all who have had a share in maintaining the tradition, acknowledgment of high service is due.

A university is not a place merely for freedom of professor's minds. It fails largely in its purpose if that quality is not created among the men and women of tomorrow who come here to learn, think, and live. They come in life's most vital time. Physically maturing, their minds are opening. They come for great discoveries. Greatest among these, perhaps, is the discovery of their own powers. It cannot be made if they feel restraint or suppression. They first must learn not to be afraid—of ideas, of facts, of other persons, of themselves. The process is not always easy. Patterns, fixed, must be disturbed. Old certainties vanish. New ones are slow to take their place. Doubt becomes destructive, not recognized as invitation to further inquiry. So operating, it tears down, without replacing. When, in addition to these things, one at that stage of life receives discouragement, whether by indifference or by suppression, he may be cheated of all chance for the full growth of which he is capable or delayed too long in attaining it.

Of these things I need to remind no true teacher or student. But I speak of them for their pertinence to this occasion. I was here fifteen years ago when a man came to the campus with what seemed almost a hopeless task. But he came in no spirit lacking in hope. What to others seemed impossible, to him was obvious. He knew that a university by emphasizing some values, even its major functions, may negate or minimize other essential ones. His problem was, for many a contradiction, how to reconcile the spirit of faith. He did not come to inculcate dogma or creed. But he believed that, with help and guidance, each student could discover for himself the right harmony of these opposites. There was

no idea of revival or religious fervor. It was not one of rejection of doubt, for Arno J. Haack knew that doubt avoided is not resolved. He knew too that no man can donate to another his belief ready-made to make it his own. He therefore undertook to exclude no honest opinion or question. And he sought to create the same spirit of freedom in the student mind as had come to be their teacher's.

It was my privilege to work modestly and casually as co-operator in the early effort. Often it seemed to be failing. Yet he would not be discouraged. I need not, could not tell you of what has been done in the succeeding years. But, throughout them, the effort has gone on. And now hundreds of men and women, by its help, have found, if not the final solutions they sought, the way not to be afraid of seeking them. And, in one form or another, many have been led to a faith that our universe is not chaos or sheer chance. For some, the greatest, most gnawing doubts have been replaced by the old certainties. For others, new certainties have taken the place of the old. For a few, the way to reconciliation with living in the unknown has been found.

Whatever the result in the particular case, men and women have been aided, not to take another's view or faith, but to find their own. They thus have been helped to self-discovery.

Who does this is a friend. The experiment has been unusual, if not unique. That it has survived, been proved, shows both its value and the unselfishness of him who has done it. The work has not been done without sacrifice. For he has given himself to an idea and an ideal as truly as St. Francis of Assisi, Martin Luther, John Huss or Abraham Lincoln.

In what has been said, I have refrained from mentioning the struggle now foremost in all men's minds, and what shall come afterward. But I do not want my word to be taken merely as garlands brought to my old home and friends. That would be pleasant enough, but insufficient. I have tried to imply, rather than to say, what I mean. And the message, if it has been one, is not primarily for the friends of my own day and age. It is for them, of course, if they find in it my meaning. But it is more for those who have come after us,

the men and women, here today or gone but yesterday who have come up from the world of delusion we created for them and have gone out or go tomorrow into the harsh reality of what few were taught to expect. To be brought up believing in peace and security, in the never-againness of what we called and still call the first World war, only to be plunged at the threshold of manhood into world-wide slaughter would destroy the faith of a beloved son. This is not the sort of world you would have chosen to enter or we, had we known, to have you enter. And, it may be that some of you go out, not in hope or with the evidence of things not seen, but because you have no other choice; you take, with the will to do your utmost in what is a bad cause at best, the only alternative we have given you.

I would not deny our part in creating your hard plunge into adult life. We, in our day, did not make secure your freedom to choose or our own to live without the sacrifice you must make. And, if we could make it in your places, who would not go wherever he might be called? But, though ours was the decision, made in blindness, yours is the task, the hard fight. That is the penalty of your youth.

It is also your magnificent opportunity. And what comes afterward also. What I have come to say to you is a contradiction, flat, unqualified, of what must at times run through your minds. I find no evidence in this war, as in the last, of enthusiasm for the fight. The fun has gone out. The old spirit of adventure is wanting. If that is all, I shall not be concerned. For that will mean that the glory, so-called, of war for war's sake has gone.

But the fact may mean more. It may disclose a deep-rooted feeling that, though the job must be done, it may not be worth doing in the end. There may be the fear, kept down in the heart, that whatever the outcome, the cost will be too great, in lives, in suffering, in strain on the structure of society, to permit one to believe in the survival or recreation, after arms are laid down, of normal, free, and happy life. I do not say this is your view. I only fear it may be.

If these fears exist; if from the conflict raging all around one hears only discord; if as he enters battle he is without hope,

not for the military victory, but for the chance of a satisfying life afterward; if he hears voices clashing in the tumult, some strident and blatant, others suppressed and tense; if, in short, he hears prophets not of hope and faith, but of despair, I would remind him that Whitman heard the voices of America singing when the nation was torn by struggle not without, but within. Over the clashing and clangor of arms, he heard the music of the anvil and the hammer, the rip of the plough through the root, the song of the lumberman in Maine, the pick of the miner in Nevada, the crooning of the deck hand on the Mississippi. Whitman knew, he heard the horrors of the discord of his time. He knew what was at stake in that war, testing as it did whether any nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure. But beyond this knowledge he knew also the strength of his country, forged with diversities. He knew the song of the hammer and the plough and the pick and the loom and the cradle would go on being sung, after the sound of shot and shell had died away, and he heard their music, not as an overtone, but as the very theme of the whole. There was in him the faith of Lincoln that the Union would survive, and surviving grow greater and yet greater in freedom and the joy of living for all men.

We too, in our day, test whether nations, conceived as was ours, can survive. We know our strength. We have faith in the power of free men, forging unity from difference, to overcome the strength of automatons. For when men may be strong, each in his own way, they bring to the common energy more than the sum of their like attributes. In this excess is the unique superiority of democratic men and nations. To be one's self is not to be weak, unless the self itself is weak. We have come, if not to the final, then to the climatic phase of the conflict Washington and Jefferson began, Lincoln carried on and Wilson waged in his day. Now we fight not for our own rights alone, but for the rights of men and nations everywhere who would be free.

No generation has received such a challenge as your own. Upon none has so much of freedom been laid to save or to fashion anew. To none have such chances been given for securing to the future the past's good, for discarding its evil,

and for building new joys in living for those who will come afterward. This, then, is no time for lack of hope or spirit. Your day is big with great events and great chances to build creatively. No one has held larger ones. That you may have first the will to win, then the creative faith which will make your hour epochal in time, this is the word I bring you, spoken by the good, gray poet out of the lives and history of St. Louis, of Missouri, of America.

TRACES IN EARLY MISSOURI, 1700-1804

BY MARTHA MAY WOOD¹

The objective of this paper is to trace the origin and a little of the later development of the early roads, really traces, of the eastern and southeastern parts of Missouri during the time of the French and Spanish regimes. In order to do this it becomes necessary to go back a little and to present a brief survey of some of the Indian trails of the eastern and southeastern parts of the State. One must have a knowledge of the location and movements of the Indian tribes of those parts of the State in order to realize why these trails were where they were.

These Indian trails were the only land routes of travel that existed in Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi at the time when the white men arrived in the region.² It was natural that the white men should avail themselves of these defined paths of travel, for, according to Hulbert, the Indians usually chose the most convenient and least hazardous pathway between two points.³

Because of the variability in meaning of the terms "trail," "trace," and "road," particularly as used in the writings of early travellers, some kind of line of demarcation will be attempted in this discussion. "Trail" will refer to a route of the Indians while "trace" and "road" will be applied to routes used by the white men. Furthermore, a route of the white man in its primitive stage when it accommodated people on foot or horseback only will be called a "trace." This "trace" will take the name "road" when it reaches a stage where wagons pass over it freely. However, the exact time when a trace becomes a road cannot be definitely determined owing to the fact that there is no documentary evidence concerning

¹MARTHA MAY WOOD, a native of Franklin county, Missouri, is a teacher of social studies in the Webster Groves high school. In 1928, she received a B.S. degree in education from Missouri university and in 1937, a M.A. from the same institution. This article is taken from her thesis, *Early Roads in Missouri*.

²Hulbert, Archer Butler, *Red Men's Road*, p. 6.

³*Ibid.*

the change in the type of travel. Consequently the use of the terms will, of necessity, be somewhat arbitrary.

The only tribes of Indians, it seems, who settled and had villages in the southeastern part of the present state of Missouri were the Shawnees and Delawares, who probably came there in the early 1780's. Colonel George Morgan found about twenty Delawares camped on the lowlands near New Madrid on the lower Mississippi in 1788.⁴ In 1793, the Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of the province of Louisiana, authorized Don Louis Lorimier, an agent, to invite the Delawares and Shawnees from the east side of the river to settle on the west side. The Spanish authorities at this time were evidently desirous of bringing these Indians across the river to protect themselves from the depredations of the Osages for the latter tribes roamed that far. In all probability, too, the Spanish wanted to strengthen the west bank against the English.⁵

The settlements of the Shawnees and of the Delawares were made principally between the mouths of Cinque Hommes and Flora creeks along the lower Mississippi above Cape Girardeau and between the Mississippi and the White Water rivers.⁶ After the Shawnees settled on the west bank of the Mississippi, they appear to have gradually moved westward, first to the White Water and later to the Castor river where they were found in 1815.⁷ The Delawares resided in their villages first on Shawnee and Indian creeks in the Cape Girardeau district but in important matters, it seems, they were usually allied with the Shawnees.⁸

The published material on the tribes mentioned is fragmentary, found mainly scattered through the accounts of early travellers. This material, together with a few maps which were obtainable, furnished the evidence for the following trails.

⁴Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 208.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Harvey, Henry, *A History of the Shawnee Indians from the Year 1681-1854*, Inclusive, p. 84.

⁷Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 217.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 213.

The three best known Indian trails of this part of the State were what were known as (1) The Shawnee or "old Indian Trail," (2) The St. Louis-Natchitoches trail, and (3) The Vincennes-Natchitoches trail.

Houck says an Indian trail connected the four Spanish posts of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid.⁹ Naturally the Indians went to them to trade with the whites. Much evidence for this can be found in the *Journal of Louis Lorimer*.¹⁰ Now, the Shawnees were the most numerous tribe of the southeast region during the Spanish regime, a fact which probably explains why this trail in places was called the "Shawnee Trail" particularly between Apple Creek and Cape Girardeau.¹¹ The plat of the first territorial road from St. Louis to New Madrid refers to the old Shawnee trail from Apple Creek to Cape Girardeau. Frequently this has been called the old "Indian trail" along the Mississippi from New Madrid to St. Louis.¹² It has often been erroneously assumed, therefore that this trail and the Shawnee trail were separate routes. Evidence seems to exist for only one trail of consequence connecting these posts along the river. However, a branch of this trail led off to the later settlements of the Shawnees as they moved westward to the White Water river and the Castor river, and then southward to Stoddard and Dunklin counties.¹³ This trail was also designated as the "Shawnee trail," a fact which has naturally caused some confusion. In reality, it was only a spur of the trail connecting St. Louis and New Madrid, referred to as the "old Indian trail."

It seems fitting before giving the facts concerning the next two trails to explain the location and importance of Natchitoches for both of them wended their way to that distant settlement.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁰Houck, Louis, (ed.), *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 59-99.

¹¹This plat was found in the records of the circuit court of Cape Girardeau county at Jackson, Missouri.

¹²Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 150-151.

¹³James, Edwin, *Account of An Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820 . . . under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long in Thwaites, Reuben G., (ed.), Early Western Travels, 1748-1848*, Vol. XVII, p. 40.

Natchitoches was established as a French trading post in 1713-14 by Louis St. Denis among the Natchitoches Indians on a tributary of the Red river in the present state of Louisiana. Soon it was garrisoned and fortified as an outpost against the neighboring Spanish in Texas. Besides the Indian trade, it carried on an extensive traffic, mostly contraband, with the Spanish to the west. French products were exchanged for cattle, horses, mules, hides, and silver, which in turn went to other points even as far as St. Louis and Vincennes.

Nuttall in his ascent of the Arkansas river in 1819 reported a route between St. Louis and Natchitoches which had been travelled from "time immemorial by the Indians" and had been a hunting and war trail.¹⁴ This will be referred to as the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. It had its direction south from St. Louis to crossings on the St. Francis, Black, Current, and White rivers.¹⁵ From the latter crossing it proceeded somewhat west of south to a crossing on the Arkansas river at the present site of Little Rock and thence to Natchitoches.¹⁶

The Vincennes-Natchitoches Path, according to Houck, appears to have led from Vincennes across Indiana and Illinois and to have crossed the Mississippi river somewhere in the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau. It proceeded southwest to the St. Francis river. From all evidence, it appears to have crossed the St. Francis at the same place as the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. From this point, these two trails seem to have proceeded as one to the crossing on the Arkansas river at the present site of Little Rock, and from there to Natchitoches.¹⁷

In 1778, Hutchins said, the settlers of Vincennes had horses which the Indians had brought from the Spanish settlements on the west side of the Mississippi.¹⁸ Featherstonhaugh,

¹⁴Nuttall, Thomas, *Journal of Travels in Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819* in Thwaites, Reuben G., (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. XIII, p. 145.

¹⁵Featherstonhaugh, G. W., *An Excursion Through the Slave States*, pp. 83-85.

¹⁶Nuttall, *Journal of Travels in Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIII, pp. 145, 147.

¹⁷Hock, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 227.

¹⁸Hutchins, Thomas, *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina*, pp. 99, 100.

in 1834 after he had crossed the Current river in travelling from St. Louis through Herculanum to Little Rock, said he understood that an ancient Indian trail from Vincennes to Natchitoches had passed that way.¹⁹

From the fact that the two trails lay over the same route for so much of the way, the route appears to have received its name in Arkansas from the starting-point of the travellers. If travel was from St. Louis to Natchitoches, the route was called the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail but, if it was from the Indiana country, it was referred to as the Vincennes-Natchitoches trail.

Now that the main Indian trails of this section have been located and explained, it is time to proceed to the development of the traces that came to be as a result of the early lead mining activities in Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and the trace or road used as a line of communication between the four Spanish posts of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid; and to attempt to show that in the main some of these traces followed more or less the routes of some of these trails.

Prior to 1762, the entire territory on both sides of the Mississippi river, known as Louisiana, was claimed by France.²⁰ The French had established settlements east of the river at Kaskaskia, St. Phillips, Cahokia, Prairie de Rocher, and Fort Chartres during the first part of the eighteenth century.²¹ No permanent settlements had been made west of the river at that time although reports of rich mineral regions to the west of the Mississippi had been circulated since 1700.²²

However, the first production of any worthwhile amount of mineral, as evidenced by the remains, seems to have taken place after 1718 under the authority of the Western company.²³ This company sent Philip Renault from France to the new world to work the mines in the mineral region. He obtained

¹⁹Featherstonhaugh, *An Excursion Through the Slave States*, p. 87.

²⁰Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 71.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Vol. LXV, p. 105.

²³*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 575. Contains Moses Austin's report of 1816 on the lead mines.

grants from the officials at Fort Chartres in 1723.²⁴ One of the grants was west of the Mississippi on the Negro Fork of the Meramec and was known as the Cabanage de Renandiere. Another grant, also west of the river, embraced two leagues of ground at Mine la Motte, and a third was for land east of the Mississippi adjoining Fort Chartres. The later grant was for the purpose of raising provisions for the workers at the mines on the west side of the Mississippi.²⁵ Moses Austin stated in his report of 1816 that, in his opinion, great quantities of mineral must have been removed by Renault and large amounts of lead must have been made.²⁶ One source states that by 1725 Renault had established a furnace and was taking out fifteen hundred pounds of lead a day.²⁷ By 1731, the grants had reverted to the crown and Renault returned to France in 1744. This was due, it seems, to the financial condition of the company and not to any failure in the supply of mineral.²⁸

In the beginning, the lead was carried to the Mississippi river and was conveyed across to Fort Chartres for shipment.²⁹ The town of Ste. Genevieve grew up on the west bank of the river in the vicinity of this crossing place as a result of this activity in lead mining.³⁰ It must have become a permanent settlement sometime before 1735.³¹ Renault and his miners, during a part of their activities, had their homes near Fort Chartres.³² But with the establishment of Ste. Genevieve, many of the miners removed their homes to that place.³³

La Motte and des Ursins had asserted, as early as 1715, that a well-beaten Indian trail extended from Mine la Motte

²⁴*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 590.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 610.

²⁷Alvord, Clarence W., *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, p. 189. Alvord cites Archives Nationales, Colonies, C¹³A 9:51, 239-258.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 209.

²⁹Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 284.

³⁰Austin, Moses, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey from the Lead Mines in the County of Wythe in the State of Virginia to the Lead Mines in the Province of Louisiana West of the Mississippi, 1796-1797" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 3 (April 1900), p. 538.

³¹Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 337-338.

³²*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 283.

³³Austin, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, p. 538.

to the river in the vicinity opposite Fort Chartres.³⁴ Renaudiere, in his writings of 1723, described Mine la Motte as being two leagues from the "Illinois road," establishing the fact that there was a trace from the direction of Mine la Motte to the river in the vicinity of the Illinois settlements.³⁵ Because of the large amount of lead removed, Renault was forced to use horses to convey the metal from the mines to the river.³⁶ The transportation of the lead, the miners, and their equipment necessitated a considerable amount of travel over the trail and caused it to develop into a trace. Mine la Motte lay about thirty miles southwest of Ste. Genevieve.³⁷

Renault's largest workings, however, were on the Negro Fork of the Meramec at Mine à Renault, which had been known earlier as the Cabanage de Renaudiere.³⁸ It lay about forty-five miles west of Ste. Genevieve. Consequently, a travelled trace had also developed from Mine à Renault to the place where Ste. Genevieve was established.³⁹ In this way, the pioneer traces for horses had developed between Mine à Renault and the place which became Ste. Genevieve and between Mine la Motte and the same place at some time between 1723 and the time when Renault had abandoned the mines and returned to France in 1744.⁴⁰ One of these traces extended in a northeast direction from Mine la Motte to Ste. Genevieve and the other led east from Mine à Renault to the same place.

However, activity at the lead mines did not cease when Renault returned to France. The mines west of the Mississippi still remained a source of lead supply throughout the French regime.⁴¹ After about 1738, Mine la Motte came to be considered public property and the people in general were allowed

³⁴Rothensterner, John E., "Earliest History of Mine La Motte" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 2, (January 1926), pp. 205-206.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 208.

³⁶Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri*, p. 16.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁸*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 189, 190. Contains a description by Moses Austin of the lead mines in Upper Louisiana in 1804.

³⁹Rothensterner, "Earliest History of Mine La Motte" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XX, p. 200.

⁴⁰Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 231, 284.

⁴¹Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, p. 209.

to work there. This necessitated considerable travel back and forth from Ste. Genevieve for at that time this mine furnished most of the lead exported from the Illinois country.⁴³ Ste. Genevieve continued to be the only deposit for lead as well as the storehouse from which those engaged in working the mines obtained their supplies.⁴⁴ This activity between the mines and Ste. Genevieve kept the traces that had been established in more or less general use.⁴⁵

In 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all her territory east of the Mississippi river except New Orleans. By a secret treaty, the country west of the Mississippi and the city of New Orleans had been ceded to Spain in November 1762. However, the Spanish officials did not take possession until some years later.⁴⁶

In the interval between the cession and the time when Spain took possession of Upper Louisiana, St. Louis, the second permanent settlement west of the river, had been founded. In 1764, Pierre Laclède Liguist, with a group of artisans from New Orleans, reached the site of present St. Louis, which he had selected for the fur-trading post of Maxent, Laclède and company of New Orleans.⁴⁶ After the change in government on the east side of the river, many families crossed to the settlement of St. Louis. By the end of the century, St. Louis had surpassed the settlements east of the river.⁴⁷

The west side of the Mississippi was very sparsely settled when the Spanish took control. The only permanent settlements were St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. At first, the Spanish government took little interest in obtaining more settlers, but later the officials began to desire settlers as a check on the English from Canada. They encouraged settlers to come across from the United States. They offered land free of

⁴³*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 190.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 189.

⁴⁵Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 284.

⁴⁶Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, pp. 71, 72.

⁴⁷Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, Vol. I, pp. 64-70.

⁴⁸Austin, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, p. 538.

taxes if the settlers paid the fees for the surveys.⁴⁸ Mineral lands were not excepted. On the contrary, the government encouraged the settlement of the country by miners and the working of the lead mines.⁴⁹ These liberal inducements offered by the Spanish government caused numbers of people to settle west of the Mississippi in the southeastern part of Missouri. By 1804, about five-eighths of the population of the territory was south of the St. Louis district.⁵⁰

New Madrid became a Spanish post in 1789.⁵¹ The next establishment west of the river under the auspices of the Spanish government was made by Louis Lorimer at Cape Girardeau.⁵² This place was made an independent Spanish post in 1793.⁵³

By 1789, then, three Spanish trading posts, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and New Madrid had been established along the west bank of the Mississippi south of the Missouri, with several small settlements reaching back into the country for several miles.⁵⁴ The establishment of these isolated posts, however, could not insure military safety nor facilitate commerce and trade within the country. Something was needed to bind together these three posts and the outlying settlements.

As early as 1776, the commandant at St. Louis had realized that a connection was needed between the trading posts of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. He thought that a ferry should be established over the Meramec river near its mouth about seventeen miles south of St. Louis in order that a "regular intercourse" could be kept up between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. Jean Baptiste Gamache agreed to undertake the establishment of the ferry in return for a grant of land. This ferry remained in operation for the remainder of the century.⁵⁵

⁴⁸Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 249.

⁴⁹*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VI, p. 71.

⁵⁰Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, pp. 211, 218, 221, 224.

⁵¹Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 116, 120, 125.

⁵²*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 414.

⁵³Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 174.

⁵⁴Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 214.

⁵⁵*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 550.

Soon after the establishment of New Madrid, a trace was marked out from New Madrid north to St. Louis. The route agreed in the main with the old Indian trail connecting these points.⁵⁶ Frequently referred to as a public road at this period, it was probably nothing more than a trace, according to the distinction made in this study, for in 1797, when Moses Austin wished to make the trip from St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve, he did not use this trace but recrossed the river and made the journey down the east side.⁵⁷

This trace on the west side was known by different names in different sections. In Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis it was called "Le Rue Royale" and in New Madrid it was known as "El Camino Real."⁵⁸ The English translations of these names are "The Royal Road" and "The King's Highway." Frequently, it is referred to as the "King's Trace." During the Spanish regime, the trace was known to the American settlers south of Apple Creek as the "Illinois road" because it led to what was then known as the "Illinois country," north of Apple Creek to St. Louis. St. Louis during this period was frequently called San Luis des Ylinoas.⁵⁹

The mines had not been abandoned when the Spanish took possession of Upper Louisiana in 1770. Mining activities still continued and on the whole the output was on the increase, although it varied from year to year.⁶⁰ The continued removal of so great an amount of metal from the mines from year to year indicated that the traces from the mines to Ste. Genevieve were in rather extensive use. As more lead was removed and as travel increased, these traces became even more clearly defined.

⁵⁶Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 150.

⁵⁷Chouteau, Pierre, *Letter Book, 1804-1819*, pp. 28, 29. (Manuscript translation in the library of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.)

⁵⁸Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 150, 152.

⁵⁹Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 44.

⁶⁰The following table shows the quantity of lead shipped from Ste. Genevieve:

	Quintals	Pounds
1772	600.25	60,025
1773	178	17,800
1791		216,000
1795		327,300
1796		165,000

Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 53, 87, 326; Vol. II, pp. 143, 368.

Mine à Breton, a few miles south of Mine à Renault had been discovered about 1773. This mine was considered such a rich find that the miners had forsaken Mine la Motte and other mines to go to that district.⁶¹ The result was that by the year 1797, a wagon road over which a carryall and two horses could travel lay between Ste. Genevieve and Mine à Breton.⁶² Since Mine à Breton lay only six miles to the south of Mine à Renault, in all probability this road followed the same route over the greater distance from Ste. Genevieve as the trace from the same place to Mine à Renault.

As a rule these traces from the lead mines to the river led along the tops of the most sterile, flinty ridges. A traveller would have been impressed by the bareness of the country because of the location of the traces.⁶³ The surface of these traces was usually quite hard. If it became soft from an unusual amount of rain, the traveller could move to the side for there were no boundaries to these traces except those made by nature.⁶⁴ Because of this the traces were quite wide. So these traces from Mine la Motte, Mine à Renault and Mine à Breton to Ste. Genevieve served the purpose of getting the lead to market and provisions to the miners.

In January 1797, Moses Austin, an owner of lead mines in Virginia, made a visit to the mineral region of Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi. He obtained a grant of three arpents square from the Spanish officials.⁶⁵ This grant included Mine à Breton. As has been noted before, Mine à Breton lay about six miles south of Mine à Renault in a line almost due west of Ste. Genevieve.⁶⁶ Austin returned to Virginia in June 1797 but arrived in Ste. Genevieve with his family in 1798. They resided there until July 1799 at which time they removed to Mine à Breton. With the exception of the village of Ste.

⁶¹*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 189.

⁶²Austin, "Memorandum of M. Austin" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, p. 540.

⁶³Schoolcraft, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri*, p. 52.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁵*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 591. Contains Austin's report of 1816.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 189.

Genevieve, the district of Ste. Genevieve was an uninhabited wilderness at that time.⁶⁷

The miners lived in Ste. Genevieve and went out at certain times of the year to work the mines.⁶⁸ By 1799, Moses Austin had completed a furnace, a blast, a saw mill, a blacksmith's shop, a shot factory, and other improvements at Mine à Breton. He manufactured lead and shot between 1800 and 1804 to the amount of from one hundred to two hundred thousand pounds annually.⁶⁹

This extensive lead mining activity necessitated a great amount of travel between Mine à Breton and Ste. Genevieve. By 1800 or 1801, Austin had opened a road through his claim to Mine à Renault which lay north of Mine à Breton.⁷⁰ This new road gave him a connection with the road from Mine à Renault to Ste. Genevieve over which he had travelled in 1797. This latter road was in all probability the first road west of the Mississippi river over which wagons passed.⁷¹ In 1808, William Bates testified that this was the only public road in that direction at the time it was made.⁷²

Prior to 1797, the settlements in the territory were not at a distance of more than twelve miles from the Mississippi river.⁷³ However in 1798, the settlements seem to swing to a line in the interior, more or less parallel with the Mississippi. The chief of these were Murphy's Settlement, the present Farmington, Cook's Settlement, and Mine à Breton, now Potosi. During the next two years settlement pushed southward to St. Michaels, the present Fredericktown, near Mine la Motte.⁷⁴ This line of settlements lay more or less along the route of the old St. Louis-Natchitoches Indian trail⁷⁵ in this region along which a trace was beginning to develop.

⁶⁷Austin, Moses, *The Austin Papers* edited by Eugene C. Barker in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1919*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 115.

⁶⁸*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 189.

⁶⁹*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 591.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 284.

⁷²*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 591.

⁷³*Austin Papers in Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1919, Vol. II, Part I, p. 115.

⁷⁴Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 367, 375, 376.

⁷⁵James, *Account of An Expedition . . . Under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long in Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIV, pp. 145, 147.

At the close of the Spanish regime, therefore, a wagon road and two traces existed in Upper Louisiana with still another trace in the early stage of development. The wagon road extended from Mine à Breton to Ste. Genevieve. After 1800 it probably accommodated increased travel because of the extensive activities of Moses Austin at Mine à Breton. A good trace for horses led from Mine la Motte to Ste. Genevieve. The other trace led from St. Louis to New Madrid. It had been authorized by the Spanish government but the indications are that the amount of travel over it was not as great as that over some of the other traces. The trace then in an early stage of development was the one along the old Indian trail from St. Louis to Natchitoches. In considering the part these different traces played in developing their respective regions, the traces to the lead mines seem to have been the more important.

A SNAPSHOT OF ALEXANDER W. DONIPHAN, 1808-1887

BY FREDERIC A. CULMER¹

I will not obey your order . . . if you execute those
men I will hold you responsible before an earthy tribunal,
so help me God!

These words are the point-blank refusal of Brigadier General Alexander W. Doniphan to obey the order of Major General Samuel D. Lucas to shoot the Mormon leader Joseph Smith "and other prisoners" on the public square at Far West, Missouri, in the year 1838. The personal characteristics reflected in this utterance carried Doniphan through his arduous participation in the Mexican war. "Doniphan's March" with his one thousand Missourians needs no explanation here.

But Doniphan was not only lawyer and soldier, he also was an astute political leader in Missouri and pre-eminently so in the northwest part of the State. In 1852 he refused, by ignoring it, his nomination for governor of the State at the hands of the Whig state convention. James S. Rollins remarked facetiously that the refusal showed lack of "good breeding." It actually showed a keen perception of political reality. Three years later Doniphan stood as the Whig nominee in a tripartite struggle for membership in the United States senate. Thomas H. Benton and David R. Atchison, the incumbent, were his opponents. He held on until more than forty ballots proved there could be no election. Doniphan was proud of the result. On April 10, 1861, he wrote to his nephew John:

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The letters used in this article were lent to the writer by the Reverend Frank C. Tucker, D.D., who purchased them in St. Joseph, Missouri, at a general sale held by a storage firm.

. . . . Are you still alive and kicking or have you been ferried over the Styx? You may possibly be so fastidious as to wish to cut my acquaintance because I permitted my laurels, won in a dogfall with Atchison and Benton, to be sacrificed in an unsuccessful race with Tom English and Waldo P. Johnson.

Johnson was elected a United States senator in 1861.

Some of Doniphan's political determinations and interpretations appear in the letters quoted in part or whole below. In places the language is unrestrained; the time and atmosphere in which they were written should serve to temper criticism on that point.

There was much excitement in Missouri in January 1861. Governor Claiborne F. Jackson had declared in his inaugural address:

In the event of a failure to reconcile the conflicting interests which now threaten the disruption of the existing Union, interest and sympathy alike combine to unite the fortunes of all the slaveholding States. . . . Missouri will not be found to shrink from the duty which her position upon the border imposes; her honor, her interests, and her sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her *to stand by the South*.

Jackson also had issued a call for a state convention. He thought that Missouri might soon need to send delegates to a convention of the southern states or of all the states. He believed that such delegates could "be instructed as to the determination" of Missouri, competently, only by the people through a state convention. Opposing members of the legislature had sent out letters which told of Jackson's unsuccessful attempt to keep out of the law creating the convention a provision that any ordinance changing the relation of Missouri to the Union must be submitted to the people at the polls. Northwest Missouri, where Doniphan was a leader, shared in the excitement. Election of delegates to the convention was to take place February 18. Each senatorial district of the State was entitled to three times as many delegates as it had senators. On January 28, 1861, Doniphan wrote to his nephew, John Doniphan, from Liberty, Missouri:

Dear John:

I am perfectly exhausted but must write you what we have done today. We had a tremendous meeting—the courthouse would not hold one third of them—and we had to adjourn out of doors—and I spoke from the courthouse platform to a yard full—nearly or quite 2000 people from Clay, Clinton, and Ray. I made an effort that was eminently satisfactory to the crowd.³ The committee reported the Crittenden resolutions and they were passed by 19/20 of the crowd by holding up of hands. Then Tom McCarty, against all previous understanding, offered a resolution recommending Norton, Moss, and myself. I got up and positively refused to run or serve but the people were wild and furious and they passed them unanimously. I told them Platte must have two and there must be two Democrats if possible. They then merely recommended us & proposed to Platte to hold a meeting & appoint delegates to Barry to nominate men for the Convention & we appointed ten delegates taken equal from the Democrats and Whigs 5 of each.

Now you must be up and adoin to get the right men. Neither Jim nor myself are willing to run and of course both will not. Your county must have two—one on each side of Platte river. I would rather give \$500 than to run & will not if the convention can agree on three other men. My great desire is for Jim to run here & Norton & some other man from your side of the river. Between us privately Jim and me have made a great effort for McCurdy, but the Whigs here prefer Burns or [?], or any other ultra man to a renegade Whig. This objection to him is I fear insurmountable and is universal almost. I do not want you to go to the Convention—the sacrifice is too great—much to risk—nothing to gain—but if you wish to run you and Jim and Norton can get 1500 votes in this county unless there are some strong men occupying the same ground—we hear that Libbs Pitt and a host of others are out or want to be.

Let no man be nominated who is in principle radical—the Convention have to report back any secession resolutions—but we want none passed—for if they pass one & that or submission is the issue we give them a great advantage—we must keep the issue secession or compromise & hence we must have Compromise Union men so that no Submission issue can be forced upon us. I am so tired I must close

Your Uncle
A. W. Doniphan.

Doniphan, James H. Moss, and Elijah H. Norton, the last from Platte City, were elected on February 18. Before the election took place Doniphan had set out for Washington. Under the leadership of Virginia a peace conference had been

³Upon Doniphan as an orator see Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri's Hall of Fame*, pp. 109-110.

called to meet at Washington on February 4, 1861. About twenty states were represented; Doniphan was a member of the delegation from Missouri. Ex-president John Tyler was chairman of the meeting. The conference was ineffective; it did propose a constitutional amendment providing that no territory should be annexed without a favorable majority of the senators from both the free and slave states. Although Crittenden and Douglas both urged this amendment only seven votes were cast in the senate in its favor. From this conference Doniphan wrote to his nephew:

Washington City, 22d Feby. 1861,

My dear Jno.

I have been waiting as patiently as the redoubtable Mr. McCawber for something to turn up that was worth writing to you—or at least something that might indicate what we had done or what we would do—but the Pubs have thirteen states to our seven and of course they can baffle us to all eternity—they are determined to know Lincoln's wishes in regard to the adjustment—whether we are to have any or none & what guarantees they will give—there are at least fifty open and avowed office seekers in our Convention who have availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting Washington at the expense of their respective states & having [*sic*] at the same time some decent pretext for being here, so as not to seem to be mere cormorants & birds of prey. Of course such as these only want to know Abraham's wishes in order to perform them—it is very humiliating for an American to know that the present & future destiny of his country is wholly in the hands of one man, & that such a man as Lincoln—a man of no intelligence—no enlargement of views—as ridiculously [*sic*] vain and fantastic as a country boy with his first red Morroco hat—easily flattered into a belief that he is King Canute & can say to the waves of revolution, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther." The consequence is that the most adroit flatterer and manager is, for the time being the arbiter of the destinies of this mighty nation—if rash may at any time ruin all beyond redemption.

The Convention cannot move a wheel until Lincoln gets here.³ If he is under Seward's guidance we will compromise in a day—if he is under the Chase and Greely [*sic*] faction then we may go home and tell Gabriel to blow for the nation will be dissolved in a few days or months at most—Va leading and all the rest following as they get ready.⁴ I still hope for

³It appears that Lincoln arrived in Washington the same day that Doniphan wrote.

⁴By February 1, 1861, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had seceded. Three days later "The Confederate States of America" were organized under a provisional government and shortly afterwards Jefferson Davis was chosen President. Virginia did not secede until April 17.

the best and we have beaten the ultras on every test vote since Lincoln's Buffalo and Albany speeches. But we are constantly looking for him to ruin everything by his ridiculously childish displays of eloquence and presidential taste and literary attainment. If his future administration should compare in statesmanship, diplomatic skill and military strategie [sic] with the speeches that have adorned and embellished his triumphant march to the Capital the slave states may well quake in their boots—for Austerlitz and Waterloo will be heard of no more after the victories of Black Republicanism are recorded.

Jesting aside Old Abe is simply an ignorant country buffoon who makes about as good stump speeches as Jim Craig, and will not be more fitted intellectually as President, but perhaps as *disinterested*. We have had some excellent speeches from Rives of Va., Bronson of N. Y., Logan of Ill, etc. etc., but by far the most eloquent and able speech that has been made was by Wm Frelinghuysen of N. J. It was chaste, logical, learned, highly ornate & abounded in the most lofty appeals to our patriotism. But all vanity and state pride aside I declare that I have heard as able speeches as any of them in Weston, Mo. often—there is not much difference between great men—at last “’Tis distance lends enchantment to the view”—the magic fades as we approach to familiarity—I think I have maintained my reputation here well among all men.

We see by the Republican here tonight that St. Louis has gone for the Blair party—and a general statement that the state has gone generally for the Union party on the CN basis—but nothing from our district or any other—if these Black Republican cormorants had any sense they would avail themselves of the lull in the storm to make an adjustment—if ever the red lava spouts forth again from the revolutionary volcano—all the border states are gone forever.

I thank God we have staid it in its mad course if it is only for a time to let people think. Our delegation is a unit & and for the CN amendments as an ultimatum—but still we must demand what the other slave states demand and accept what they accept—we cannot go out of the Union before them nor remain—as a unit—and by one act—and form a new GOV'T or go with the South—& this last is best as one respectable republic in numbers and power is better than twenty little rickety concerns. If I find I am elected to the Convention of which I have heard nothing since your letter of the 9th, I will not be home until the Convention is over

Your Uncle
A. W. Doniphan

It is recorded that when Lincoln and Doniphan met at Washington the former remarked that Doniphan was the only man he had ever met who measured up to his expectations in appearance. One wonders about Doniphan's answer.

Doniphan's comments upon the destiny of the border states bear comparison with Jackson's inaugural remarks upon the same point. Both believed that the slaveholding states had one and the same destiny. Both apparently regarded slavery as the prime element in the disruptive conflict of interests between North and South. Both hoped for reconciliation; both made that reconciliation the condition of Missouri's continuance with the Union.

That reconciliation never came. Wherein then lay the difference between Jackson's group and Doniphan's "Compromise" or Conditional Union men in the early stages of the Civil war trouble in Missouri?

The state convention adjourned its first session about six weeks before reconciliation proved to be impossible. But in that convention former Whig and now Republican James O. Broadhead of Pike county had remarked:

I say, then, gentlemen of the Convention, that Missouri cannot go out of the Union if she would; and I think I know what I say when I speak of it, that she has not the power to go out of the Union if she would.

There were those who did not believe his words; they followed Jackson. There were those who later were forced to believe them.

It is significant that on the third day of the second session of the state convention, which met July 22, 1861, Jim Moss, Doniphan's close friend, declared that Union men were with Jackson, driven there by circumstances. And it is highly significant that Moss offered a resolution to the effect that no action by the convention organizing a state government could give Missouri peace. It was better, he said, to let the military decide the issue. He spoke in the light of a fundamental determination. Camp Jackson had been taken by Federal authority; Jackson had been driven from Jefferson City to Boonville and from Boonville south.

Apparently the Compromise or Conditional Union men in Missouri found themselves in a difficult position when no compromise could be had. Some went with Jackson; Federal intervention turned others from their original position. On this point Doniphan wrote to his nephew in June 1861:

The Union men who last week were violent for me to decline being Gen'l are now swearing I done [sic] wrong—they fear Harney's removal & the appointment of some rash man in my place may involve them in the loss of a flat [fiat?] dollar. But their troubles are nothing to [the] agitation of some unhappy gentlemen who paid a short visit to the arsenal not long since.⁵ They do not feel much confidence in the pacific disposition of the Lyon and do not know but he may prefer eating the lamb to lying down with it.

I hope we will get on quietly as the Secessionists now swear that they can do nothing by themselves and [that] as the Union men are not willing to make or invite war, that they will not do their fighting for the cowardly scoundrels—although they are nearly spoiling *inardly* for a fight with Lincoln, Blair & Co.

At the risk of offense to continuity, excerpts from two more of Doniphan's letters may be included. Students of Missouri politics in the early seventies may find them interesting and instructive. Doniphan wrote to his nephew John on May 24, 1872, the following letter.

. . . . As to politics we & all Mo are for Greely—but there are many old wooden-headed Democrats who think they are as strong as when old Jackson was a candidate. It is annoying to hear such asses—such words as "the time-honored usages of the Democratic party—the principles of the old Democracy" are a stench in my nostrils. I never wish to hear them again. What are their principles? or what are their usages except grab and snatch? I hope the convention at Baltimore may nominate Stephens and Voorhies and make a final finish of the whole concern. Sensible men then can start an engine with a less odious name and without the eternal interference of these old fogies. I have as much time to witness the burial of fools as I will ever have. If we can break up that cage of unclean birds headed by Grant it can only be done by some such ticket and movement as the Ci movement. If we cannot break that down and scatter it I would not give one cent for the Gov't. We cannot elect a "time honored Democrat" and if we could they would never give him his seat. They would out count him.

And one word about state nominations. Under no circumstances do you aid, assist, or countenance Bob Wilson for Gov'r. He is a low, scurby, mangy pup. You cannot do it without renouncing your manhood & licking the hand that smites you. I would sooner support a decent negro in truth. The grab for office is disgusting & I have but little preference among them. Will you be in Clay 5th June? I must—& talk to the old reg't, eat sheep and mix around generally

Your Uncle AWD.

⁵The Federal arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, was robbed of its guns and ammunition on April 20, 1861, by some two hundred men, most of whom came from Clay and Jackson counties.

On August 23, 1872, he wrote again.

. . . . but the defeat of Clint Allen (whose defeat I sincerely regret for Clint is a gentleman) followed by the heartrending news of Bob Wilson's untimely death caused by a surfeit of Senatorial Legerdemain & lavish promises seems to set us back to the bedrock to begin anew. As the idiot boy said to the horned bug when he bit its head off: "damn you, this will learn you how good biting feels".—alas poor Yorick Woodson will make a brilliant campaign for Gov'r.—we only see by a dispatch from Childs that he is nominated—we can only guess *how* by knowing Gen'l Craig was there & Jim is some pumpkins in such a bear garden. It is a healthy indication that these blatant [*sic*] bellowers about fighting in the Confederacy have not forced the Convention. We have a bitter race between Clarke and Shields for Congress—both old political cormorants. There will be an effort made this winter to beat Gen'l Blair—I *know* nothing about it—But of course St. Louis cannot retain both Senators and it is a *question* whether Frank shall be killed this winter or Shurz [*sic*] next session & as Shurz is a sagacious man in self defence he must be in the opposition to Blair—if Greely is elected it may be made right by retiring Shurz into the cabinet or a mission

Your Uncle AWD

THE OLD ST. JO GAZETTE

BY FREDERIC M. PUMPHREY¹

To read the pages of the early *Gazette* is to regale the student with exciting events that have become history. So much of the life of Missouri and of the West passed through St. Joseph and is recorded in items scattered through the pages of the paper.

The history of St. Joseph, Missouri, began July 26, 1843, when a plat of the city was selected by Joseph Robidoux. The first issue of the *St. Joseph Gazette*, the town's first newspaper, appeared on April 25, 1845.

The *St. Joseph Gazette* was a western paper when it was established by William Ridenbaugh, an early day trader, for Missouri was still of the West and St. Joseph was a gateway to the unchartered and unopened territory that lay beyond towards the Pacific.

In the first issue of the paper, which was printed on the Mormon press that had been dumped into the Missouri river at Independence, Ridenbaugh stated that he

has commenced the publication of a new paper under the above title in St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri. This point is believed to be the most favorable in Upper Missouri, for the dissemination of news, destined as it is shortly to be the commercial emporium, not only of the greater part of the Platte country, but also of the largest portion of the fertile and growing region lying along North Grand River. The *Gazette* will aim to bring into notice the wealth and resources of all this magnificent region, and lend a helping hand to whatever may develop its greatness and hasten its onward march in improvement and prosperity . . .

Apart from politics, the paper will contain all the news of the day, Congressional, foreign and domestic, the state of the markets carefully prepared, authentic information of the Oregon and Texas movements, which are of so much interest in this section just now, and likely to be so for many years. In a word, the undersigned will spare no pains to make his journal an agreeable companion in every circle.

¹FREDERICK M. PUMPHREY, a native of St. Joseph, received an A.B. degree from William Jewell college, Liberty, Missouri, in 1939. A past president of the Missouri Interscholastic Press association, he is a member of the Missouri Writers Guild. For ten years he was a member of the reportorial staff of *The St. Joseph Gazette* and the *St. Joseph News-Press*.

The *St. Jo Gazette* has not only remained "an agreeable companion" but also reflects from its pages the movements in the circles of that day. Western expeditions and migrations were noted for St. Joseph was a strategic "jumping off" place. General James W. Denver came to St. Joseph, having notified the people through the columns of the paper, and raised a company for the Santa Fe expedition.

During the time of the gold rush to California, many interesting items appeared in the *Gazette*. One of these printed June 15, 1849, gives some indication of the numbers that passed through that one point of departure.

We promised a few weeks since to give an estimate of the number of wagons and persons that would probably cross the plains this season. In making this estimate we give the number of wagons, and from this make our calculations as to the number of persons now on the plains. The wagons that crossed the river at this place, by ferry and steamboats, numbers 1508, at Duncan's ferry, four miles above St. Joseph, 685, at Bontown, Savannah, and ferries as far up as the Bluffs, say 2000. This makes the number of wagons 4193. A fair average would be about four men, and eight mules or oxen to each wagon. From this statement it would appear that there are 16,772 persons on the plains—besides 33,544 mules and oxen. A number of emigrants, anticipating some difficulty in getting through with wagons, went with pack mules, which would probably increase the emigration to at least 17,000, and the number of cattle and mules to at least 34,000. From the best information we can get, about ten thousand persons have left Independence, which will increase the number of persons to 27,000.

During the years of the emigration to California, the *St. Joseph Gazette* advertised the town's qualifications as an outfitting post for the Oregon and California emigrants. A weekly comparison of prices in St. Joseph, Independence, and Weston is made in the *Gazette* to counteract the efforts of the two latter towns to displace St. Joseph as an outfitting post. The emigrants were a continual source of news to the paper—their letters and the accounts of the perils and tribulations of the overland journey appeared in print there. Many human interest stories were found in the camp which lay all winter outside the town "waiting for grass."

In the issue of December 1, 1859, the *Gazette* announced that the "Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Springfield, Ill., was in St. Joseph on his way to Elwood to make a speech."

In 1860 the *St. Joseph Gazette* sprang into the limelight due to the Pony Express. The paper became the means by which the country's news became available to the western gold fields. When the record trip of 1950 miles in 185 hours was made, the *Gazette* carried Lincoln's inaugural address to the miners and their families.

Louis Platt Hauck, who has penned so many admirable portraits of Missouri's early history, once wrote concerning the *Gazette*.

Even before the time of the Pony Express The *Gazette* found itself an influence far beyond the bounds of the state. The editorials of Lucian J. Eastin were quoted in the eastern papers. His articles on the much talked of repeal of the Missouri Compromise bill were believed to have a decided influence on the subsequent proceedings. His comments on the situation showed a farsighted comprehension which has since been verified by events.

General Eastin, who was one of the owners when the publication of the *Gazette* as the first daily in St. Joseph was started in 1857, was connected with more newspapers than any other editor of his time in Missouri.

In 1860, Major John L. Bittinger came to St. Joseph. For a time he was associated with the *Gazette*. Later he was appointed United States consul general to Montreal, Canada.

Sir Henry M. Stanley, the Anglo-American explorer who found David Livingstone in Africa, was in St. Joseph for a time in 1866 and it is believed that he wrote for the *Gazette* during this period. Stanley came to St. Joseph after serving in the Confederate army during the Civil war. Later he worked on a number of newspapers and served as correspondent for several Eastern papers and for London journals.

At the time many of the early *Gazette* men were young, Horace Greely was considered the greatest editor who had ever lived. He had begun as a printer's boy and had worked for years at the cases and from them had gone on to editing the *New York Tribune*. What was easier than to "learn to be an editor," and to be as good a one as Greely? Put a boy in a printing office and it was plain that he would blossom into a Greely in a short time. The arrival of Greely in St. Joseph,

May 13, 1859, is one of the many notations in the *Gazette* of the well-known visitors of the time.

Oscar Wilde, P. T. Barnum, and Commodore Stockton, the hero of the Pacific, were among those whose visits were chronicled in the early columns. Presidents whose appearances were mentioned were Grant, Hayes, Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley.

In 1875 on a bright sunny day, there sauntered into the sanctum of the local editor of the *Gazette* a tall, rather ungainly youth. He had attended the state university and he now desired a place on the *Gazette* which, even in those days, was widely known.

"Gene," as he was familiarly known to his fellow-associates, soon developed into an all-around wide-awake reporter. He had an individuality which readily distinguished him from others of his craft and it was not long before he began to write verse. In 1876, Field wrote for the printer's banquet a poem entitled "Slug 14," which won for him in the printing fraternity a reputation which extended from one end of the country to the other.

Eugene Field's experiences in St. Joseph probably exerted as great an influence on his destiny as did any other period of his life. There he courted and married. There was born the child whose untimely death touched the heart of Field with a sorrow which gave to the world the exquisite lines of "Little Boy Blue." Here, on the press of the *Gazette*, Field's thoughts and ideas were put into print.

Although there is no identification by name of Field's articles, the reader can usually associate the style of a story with Field. In an article, such as the following, titled "Too Much Busthead," one can be almost certain it was written by the fun-loving reporter.

A row occurred on Sunday in Steidel's grove, about a mile north of the city. Too much bug juice was the cause. Knives were drawn and beer glasses flew around lively. We are sorry to be unable to report anybody killed.

Field wrote a poem about the paper and in it gave a picture of the life of a reporter of that day. The poem is reprinted here not for its literary value but for its local color.

The Old St. Jo Gazette

By Eugene Field

When I helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette,"
I was upon familiar terms with every one I met;
For "items" were my stock in trade in that my callow time,
Before the muses tempted me to try my hand at rhyme,—
 Before I found in verses
 Those soothing, gracious mercies,
Less practical, but much more glorious than a well-filled purse is.
A votary of Mammon, I hustled round and sweat,
And helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

The labors of the day began at half-past eight a.m.,
For the farmers came in early, and I had to tackle them;
And many a noble bit of news I managed to acquire
By those discreet attentions which all farmer-folk admire,
 While my daily commentary
 On affairs of farm and dairy,
The tone of which anon with subtle pufferies I'd vary,—
Oh, many a peck of apples and of peaches did I get
When I helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

Dramatic news was scarce, but when a minstrel show was due,
Why, Milton Tootle's opera house was then my rendezvous;
Judge Grubb would give me points about the latest legal case.
And Dr. Runcie let me print his sermons when I'd space;
 Of fevers, fractures, humors,
 Contusions, fits, and tumors,
Would Dr. Hall or Dr. Baines confirm or nail the rumors;
From Colonel Dawes what railroad news there was I used to get,—
When I helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

For "personals" the old Pacific House was just the place,—
Pap Abell knew the pedigrees of all the human race;
And when he's gi'n up all he had, he'd drop a subtle wink,
And lead the way where one might wet one's whistle with a drink
 Those drinks at the Pacific,
 When days were sudorific,
Were what Parisians (pray excuse my French) would call "magnifique";
And frequently an invitation to a meal I'd get
When I helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

And when in rainy weather news was scarce as well as slow,
 To Saxton's bank or Hopkins' store for items would I go.
 The jokes which Colonel Saxton told were old, but good enough
 And when the ducks were flying
 Or the fish well worth trying—
 Gosh! but those "sports" at Hopkins' store could beat the world at
 lying!
 And I—I printed all their yarns, though not without regret,
 When I helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

For squibs political I'd go to Colonel Waller Young,
 Or Colonel James N. Burnes, the "statesman with the silver tongue";
 Should some old pioneer take sick and die, why, then I'd call
 On Frank M. Posegate for the "life," and Posegate knew 'em all.
 Lon Tullar used to pony
 Up descriptions that were tony
 Of toilets worn at party, ball, or conversatione,
 For the ladies were addicted to the style called "deckolett"
 When I helped 'em run the local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

So was I wont my daily round of labor to pursue;
 And when came night I found that there was still more work to do,—
 The telegraph to edit, yards and yards of proof to read,
 And reprint to be gathered to supply the printers' greed.
 Oh, but it takes agility,
 Combined with versatility,
 To run a country daily with appropriate ability!
 There never was a smarter lot of editors, I'll bet,
 Then we who whopped up local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

Yes, maybe it was irksome; maybe a discontent
 Rebellious rose amid the toil I daily underwent.
 If so, I don't remember; this only did I know,—
 My thought turn every fondly to that time in Old St. Jo.
 The years that speed so fleetly
 Have blotted out completely
 All else than that which still remains to solace me so sweetly;
 The friendships of that time,—ah me! they are as precious yet
 As when I was local on the "St. Jo Gazette."

Frederick Franklin Schrader, famous New York journalist
 and dramatist, who died not long ago, was a cub reporter on
 the *Gazette* when Eugene Field was a staff member. In writ-
 ing of his *Gazette* experiences he said:

Field was the life of the party in St. Joseph in the '70s. There was at least a glimmer of humor daily in the news he wrote for the Gazette. He had his fling at politicians, and he and Will Visscher of the Herald kept the local columns sparkling, both alternating between editorial writing and news reporting.

Before Eugene Field left St. Joseph to go on to Kansas City and elsewhere to literary fame, he said; "A good fellow named Page is going to take my desk. I hope he will succeed to my debts too."

Walter Hines Page, who later became ambassador to Great Britain during the World war years, took his first newspaper job on the *St. Joseph Gazette*. In 1880, after he had finished school, Page began to look for a permanent newspaper position. In early February 1880 he was hard at work as a stockyards reporter on the *Gazette*. Five months after his appearance in the office as cub reporter, Page found himself editor-in-chief of the *Gazette*. He spent a year and a half on the paper and left to write a series of articles on the South for several eastern papers. Following newspaper work, Page became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and was later appointed by President Wilson as ambassador to England.

The exploits of Jesse James, who made St. Joseph his home, were duly written up and printed in the *Gazette*. The outlaw's assassination and burial were events that made "extras" in the paper's history. Frederick Franklin Schrader, recalled his reporting of the killing.

At the time I was living on North Third Street above Blacksnake Creek. It must have been around noon time, as I was on my way to the Gazette office (which was then on Fifth Street opposite Tootle's Opera House) to start my day's routine, when at the corner of Francis Street I met Mike Moran, lawyer, popular character and one time member of the Legislature. He halted me with the words: "You'd better hurry around to the Gazette office, Schrader. They're getting out an extra. Jesse James has been killed." I smiled "What again?" I said. Jesse had been so often reported killed that Mike's announcement left me cold. "No, it's true," he insisted. "The two fellows who killed him are in the marshal's office right now."

The Ford boys were taken to the county jail. My handling of the case was not to their liking, and since they might resent my frankness in regard to their method of repaying Jesse's hospitality, I decided to keep

my connection with the Gazette a secret and accordingly interviewed them as the correspondent of the Chicago Times.

I had not mistaken their temper. Bob boasted to me that "when we get out of here we'll spill some blood around the Gazette office." For a souvenir they gave me a cartridge from the revolver with which Bob had fired his deadly shot.

Schrader goes on to tell of his acquaintance with Mrs. James and the souvenirs she presented him. After the trial and pardoning of the Ford boys, "They were immediately released and quickly left town without making good their threat to visit the Gazette office to 'spill some blood,' which afforded me a sense of grateful relief."

The killing of Jesse James was not a matter of local interest only. And the nation's thirst for the news was felt in the *Gazette* office.

The news of the assassination created world-wide interest and the pressure on St. Joseph newspaper men for details of the event was almost paralyzing. My report for the Gazette was sent to the Associated Press as fast as I could write the account; and should form a permanent record of what in that day was considered the prime sensation of the age.

Schrader left St. Joseph in 1891. He worked on several newspapers and became affiliated in 1906 with the famous David Belasco in New York. He has written several plays and has many books of a scholarly nature to his credit. Schrader is said to have named the famous Friar's Club in New York.

Many contemporary journalists and authors once began as cub reporters on the *Gazette*. The story of Homer Croy, famous as a present-day author and his start on the paper is rich in humor.

I'll never forget the day, I packed my telescope on the farm near Maryville and told Pa I was going to St. Joseph to get a job. He gave me two dollars and said he would be down to the train to meet me that night.

All I knew was that I wanted to be a newspaper man and that was all I was equipped with when I arrived in St. Joseph. Didn't know the Gazette was a morning paper; our weekly got out on the rural route Thursday afternoon and the matter of morning and evening papers had never been a problem. Well, I got around to the Gazette office about half past nine and thought it was going to be quieter than I expected, for

only one man was there, and he was in a room sorting advertising letters. I asked him if he wanted a reporter and he pushed his eyeshade up a little and said No, he didn't, and my heart fell on the floor and rolled toward the spittoon. Then he eased up a bit and said that He didn't, but the city editor might, and he sort of grinned. Told me to come back about two o'clock and talk to John W. Foster.

I wandered around the streets eating peanuts till that time and then went in and talked myself up to John W. Foster and dog-gone! if he didn't give me a job. The sum—nine dollars a week. That was money, as we paid our hand only eighteen dollars a month. I covered the Y.M.C.A. and the undertakers.

I worked there all summer, then school time came and I packed the telescope and went back to Maryville. The hand was still getting eighteen dollars a month. I decided I would stick to newspaper work. On the whole, I think it was a wise decision.

I worked there the next summer, and the next, and that was the summer I was fired. I was still getting that nine dollars a week just as regular as the weeks poked around; but there was a crack reporter on the paper and The News-Press offered him more money. The Gazette Budget didn't allow enough money to meet The News-Press offer, so I was fired and the crack reporter kept on. It was a step up for the paper.

But I didn't pack the telescope and go back to work along with the hand, but went around to The Press and talked Alvin T. Steinel into giving me a job. He sent me down to interview Charles Booher who was congressman from Andrew County, and I wrote a humorous piece about it and turned it in. Alvin T. Steinel read it and said if I ever wrote anything humorous again he would fire me. It was years before I took a chance.

But I rose above undertakers, and finally became a police reporter. The nine dollars remained the same.

But I had been saving up my money, and I saved up enough to buy a tuxedo. I bought it, the last week I worked on The Gazette, packed it in my telescope and took it home and showed it to Pa. Pa looked at it a while, and then said, "It seems a pity you had to give up farming for that."

Homer Croy rambled around the world and on his return he wrote several books that were best sellers. His *West of the Water Tower* has been considered by many critics as the best work, of its particular genre, since E. W. Howes *The Story of a Country Town*. In recent years, Croy has given much of his time to the movies, having written many successes.

Harold Hall, assistant to the general manager of *The New York Times*, who was on the *Gazette* at the time Homer Croy was there, tells a story of the humorist.

Homer Croy came to The Gazette as a reporter, from the University of Missouri school of journalism. For himself he did his best work on his

weekly day off; on that day he would sit for hours at his typewriter, pecking out a joke which often made only a few lines of type. This he would do over and over until night when, fully satisfied that he had polished it to the limit, he would put it in the mail to Life or a similar publication. The rest of us thought Homer was foolish to devote so much time to such a small piece of copy. However, he nearly always got \$25 from Life for one of his jokes.

Hall started his newspaper work on the *St. Joseph News-Press* which was at the time a rival of the *Gazette*, as a copy holder for the proof reader. Several weeks later, after he had succeeded the original proof reader, Hall followed Leslie Forgrave, now a widely known cartoonist, as a cub reporter on the *Gazette*.

Barry Faris, who is now editor-in-chief and vice-president of the International News Service, was first police reporter and then sports editor of the *St. Joseph Gazette* when Hall was on the paper. Faris recalls of his *Gazette* experiences.

In those days, the cubs on The *Gazette*—and I was probably the greenest and rawest cub that had ever plagued a city editor—were started in on the stockyards beat. My duties consisted of taking a trolley car to South St. Joe about one o'clock in the afternoon, visiting all the news sources, then coming back to the office about six o'clock with a South St. Joseph column.

Others who worked on the *St. Joseph Gazette* at the time Faris was there were Frank Lamb, who became one of the ablest of the Washington correspondents before he died several years ago; Merlin Taylor with the *Chicago Examiner*, who has achieved considerable success as a short story writer; and Jack Veiock, now dead, who was a sports writer for the International News Service.

George H. Larke, at one time a co-owner of the *Gazette*, was general manager of the *New York World* when he died several years ago. While he was associated with the paper, he brought Hugo Halling to the *Gazette* as managing editor. Halling became a star reporter on the *Kansas City Star* and after that was on the famous copy desk, with O. O. McIntyre, of the *Evening Mail* in New York.

Oland Russell began on the *Gazette* in 1915 as a telephone boy to answer inquiries concerning the baseball scores. Rus-

sell worked on several other papers, returning to the *Gazette* after each of the jobs, and by 1922, when he worked on the *St. Joseph* paper for the last time, he had done everything there was to be done on the paper "up to managing editor and excluding society." In reminiscencing about the paper, he has said:

My memories of the *Old Gazette* are roseate, delightful and treasured. I am working on my twelfth newspaper now and I have yet to find a city room that lived up to the atmosphere of the *Gazette* as I knew it. It is a difficult, intangible feeling to express or describe, but there was something about the *Gazette* that smacked more of the waning art, religion and mysticism of getting out a daily than any other I have ever encountered. I am willing to discount the enthusiasm of youth and the fact that it was my first newspaper job. Every bug-eaten paste-pot, every hole in the plastering, the rumbling old copy-chute, the ancient roll-top desks all breathed and gave off an aura that can't be duplicated today.

Russell speaks of the *Gazette* when it was a separate paper and had not yet been consolidated with its long rival, the *News Press*. Now the two papers are published by the same corporation, the *Gazette* as the morning paper and the two papers retaining their own editorial and news-writing staffs.

Purd B. Wright, well-known as a librarian and historian, was a substitute printer on the *Gazette* in the days of Walter Hines Page. He was later an editor of *The St. Joseph Herald*. E. K. Gaylord of Oklahoma City was business manager of the *Gazette* in 1902 and is now president and general manager of the Oklahoma Publishing company.

Fitzhugh Green, an office boy on the paper during his youth, is now a well-known writer. In 1913 he went with Donald B. MacMillan to the Arctic regions in search of Crocker Land and to explore unknown areas of Polar sea. He was co-author with Charles A. Lindbergh of *We* and has collaborated in writing books with Commander Richard E. Byrd and the late Martin Johnson.

Sarah Lockwood was a reporter on the *St. Jo Gazette*. She later married Walter Williams, founder of the school of journalism at the University of Missouri. Louis Platt Hauck and Ada Clarie Darby, well-known *St. Joseph* writers, also have written for the *Gazette*.

MISSOURI AND THE WAR

PART V

BY JULIET M. GROSS¹

Missourians stepped out on their front porches at noon on September 8, 1943, to hear the newsboys calling "Extra!" "Extra!" They read a headline they had waited long to see. Italy had surrendered unconditionally. The fortress Europe was crumbling.

MISSOURI'S FIGHTING HEROES

He's the kid who fixed your car—and sowed your wheat last year—and brought your papers regularly each evening. He's the kid they said didn't want to study war.

He's fighting now—and millions like him—but he doesn't think of himself as a hero. He's only doing his job, and doing it well.

It would be impossible to tell the stories of all the hundreds of brave Missouri boys who are fighting on the ever-growing battle fronts.

Lieutenant Charles H. DuBois, Jr., of Richmond Heights, returned to the United States last June with the air forces' three highest awards—the silver star, the air medal, and the distinguished flying cross. Lieutenant DuBois, rated as one of the top United States fighter pilots, was home to make up for his two years absence, and months of gruelling combat experience. He was credited with destroying five Japanese planes in the air.

"On the way to a fight," Lieutenant DuBois said, "you're scared. But when you're in the fight it's all mechanical. You don't think. You don't feel that you're killing somebody, a

¹JULIET M. GROSS, native Arkansan, graduated from the school of journalism of Missouri university in 1940. She is now a research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

person, a human being. It's just automatic. And then afterwards, when it's all over, you're tired out and relieved. All you feel is relief."

Captain Richard Taylor of St. Joseph was awarded the distinguished flying cross, and Lieutenant Thomas E. Baldwin of Kennett, Missouri, won the air medal for combat flying against the Japs in the Southwest Pacific.

Captain Robert I. Hodson, native of Carthage, Missouri, and now pilot with the army ferry command in India, received the distinguished flying cross—presented formally by a "well-known American citizen and flyer in the last war." Mrs. Hodson concluded he referred to Captain Eddie Rickenbacker. When quized by his wife about the much publicized Maharajah of Cooch Bihar, Captain Hodson replied that he had had dinner with the Maharajah, but that details could wait until after the war. Captain Hodson's greatest pleasure in India was drinking "some honest-to-goodness American ice cream milk shakes" in Calcutta.

A 500-pound bomb, "fused up" and ready to be dropped on a Japanese target gave Staff Sergeant Harold L. Hahn of Webster Groves the worst fright of his nine months of combat duty in the South Pacific. The crippled ship dropped 500 feet when it developed motor troubles, Hahn said. "That shook the bomb loose and its tail fins dropped to the bomb below it. The nose stayed up in the rack and lacked about an inch of slipping out and pulling the fuse wire, which would have permitted it to explode if it had been jarred again. We held our breath."

For replacing the bomb and continuing on their mission despite a dead motor, Sergeant Hahn and the rest of the bomber crew received the distinguished flying cross.

From the North African battle area came word of silver stars awarded Lieutenant William W. Harvey, Jr., of Eldon, Missouri, and Sergeant Leavitt T. Hays of West Plains, Missouri.

The war department's citation said Lieutenant Harvey was aboard a naval cutter in Algeria when his ship was raked by heavy machine gun fire. Lieutenant Harvey disregarded

his own welfare, remained on deck giving the necessary orders for the evacuation of the ship, and personally assisted the wounded.

Sergeant Hays' squad was unable to advance in the Tunisian campaign due to heavy and close fire. On his own initiative, Sergeant Hays went forward through enemy fire and silenced an enemy machine gun and three snipers.

Henrietta's Lieutenant Commander Marvin Kennedy was decorated with a silver star for destroying a Japanese submarine by torpedo fire. Lieutenant Commander Kennedy had previously helped sink a Japanese freighter.

The legion of merit went to Major S. D. Slaughter, jr., of Kansas City, for meritorious service from August 1942 to April 1943, at an advanced island base in the South Pacific as quartermaster of a task force. Major Slaughter went on active duty in 1940, and has been overseas since April 1942.

Presidential citations for constant blasting of the Japs in Burma and Thailand were awarded twelve Missourians: Lieutenant Merrill Parker, Kansas City; Lieutenant Charles Duncan, Osborn; Lieutenant Thomas Hackward, Higbee; Staff Sergeant Cornelius Dean, St. Louis; Technical Sergeant Melyin Harris, Webster Groves; Technical Sergeant James Fissell, St. Louis; Staff Sergeant Hume Lewis, California; Staff Sergeant Pete Hinman, Cape Girardeau; Staff Sergeant Henry Spiek, Faucett; Staff Sergeant James Hendry, Joplin; Technical Sergeant James Marshall, Grassy; and Staff Sergeant Arnold Malkoff, Lilbourn.

One of ten navy enlisted men to receive the air medal at a South Pacific base, Robert A. Jones, photographer's mate of St. Louis, was cited as one of the "men who are photographing the road to Tokyo."

For actions in North Africa, the Pacific battle areas, and patrol flights over the Atlantic, First Lieutenant Albert Steiner, Jr., Webster Groves, won the distinguished flying cross; Sergeant Aaron Meyer, a silver star; Sergeant Joseph A. Moser, Bridgeton, an air medal; Sergeant Homer Allegree, St. Louis, a citation for award of the legion of merit; and

Sergeant Russell P. March, Ferguson, credit for shooting down an ME-109 plane in North Africa.

The silver star, the distinguished flying cross, and the air medal with two oak leaf clusters were the decorations brought from the New Guinea area by 24-year-old Sergeant Boyd Marts of Kansas City. Engineer and turret gunner of a heavy bomber for nearly a year in the South Pacific, Sergeant Marts won the silver star for his part in a December attack on a Jap convoy. The D. F. C. was awarded for hours and missions in combat areas. The air medal went to the members of the bomber crew for attacks on enemy shipping.

Five Missourians received citations for participation in operational flights in transport planes in the Southwest Pacific area. The planes, flying over forbidding jungle and mountain terrain, often in stormy weather, and usually under constant threat of enemy attack, delivered troops and supplies to forward bases and brought wounded men back to hospitals.

Air medals were awarded Fred G. Henry, Butler, Missouri; and James A. McCullough, Cape Girardeau, for twenty-five operational flights. Staff Sergeant Glenn G. Meyer of St. Louis received the distinguished flying cross for fifty operational flights in a heavily overloaded transport.

Although only recently awarded distinguished flying crosses for action in the Southwest Pacific area, Lieutenant Albert Steiner, Jr., Webster Groves, and Sergeant John Thompson, Jr., St. Louis, won second awards—air medals—for participation in twenty-five operational flights.

Missouri can proudly claim more than her share of high-ranking military officials at home and abroad—including two full generals and sixty other general and admirals.

Tops among the military commanders from Missouri is General Malin Craig of St. Joseph—one of six full generals in the army, and General John J. Pershing of Laclede, Missouri, who was in command of all American troops in World war I.

Pacific war zone fighting leaders from Missouri are: Lieutenant General Walter Krueger of St. Louis, number two man to MacArthur and head of the Sixth army; Rear Admiral

W. R. Purnell of Bowling Green, chief of staff for Admiral Halsey in sea victories; and the commander of all American submarines in the Pacific is Rear Admiral Charles A. Lockwood, Jr., of Lamar, Missouri.

Missouri leaders in the Aleutians are: Major General Eugene M. Landrum, formerly of St. Louis who commanded the ground troops in the conquest of Attu, and accomplished the first reoccupation of American territory lost to the Japanese; and Brigadier General Lloyd E. Jones of Columbia who led the Allied forces seizing Amchitka, 1900 miles from Tokyo. Thus General Jones was the first American general to land within 2000 miles of Tokyo.

African aces are Brigadier General P. M. Robinett, Mountain Grove, Missouri, who led victorious Americans at Oran and Kasserine Pass; Brigadier General Maxwell D. Taylor of Keytesville, Joplin, and Kansas City, who was an associate of General Clark in the African campaign; Major General Orlando Ward of Macon, who had command of First armored division battles; Major General James H. Doolittle, former St. Louisan, who defeated Axis aerial armada and was also a Tokyo raider; and Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley of Moberly, who captured Bizerte in the final Tunisian victory.

The list of Missouri's war notables is a long one:

Brigadier General William A. Beiderlinden of Springfield and Columbia; Brigadier General Frederick H. Black of Meadville; Major General James L. Bradley, Doniphan; Major General Bruce of St. Louis; Major General Levin H. Campbell, Jr., St. Louis; Brigadier General Percy J. Carroll, St. Louis; Brigadier General Homer Case, Elkland; Brigadier General William H. Colburn, Lee's Summit; Major General Joseph M. Cummins, St. Louis.

Brigadier General James W. Curtis, Jefferson City; Brigadier General William C. Dunckel, Springfield; Brigadier General Ivan L. Foster, Yates; Brigadier General Alonzo P. Fox, St. Louis; Brigadier General Edward E. Glenn, Kansas City; Brigadier General Julian B. Haddon, Pleasant Hill; Brigadier General William E. Hall, St. Louis; Brigadier

General Francis P. Hardaway, St. Louis; Brigadier General William M. Hoge, Boonville; Brigadier General George P. Howell; Brigadier General Raymond E. Lee, St. Louis; Brigadier General MacMorland, Kansas City; Brigadier General William F. Marquat, St. Louis; Brigadier General Hugh T. Mayberry, Farmington.

Brigadier General Frank J. McSherry, Eldorado Springs; Brigadier General Lewis M. Means, Greenfield and Fayette; Major General Richard C. Moore, California; Major General Paul J. Mueller, Union; Brigadier General Ray L. Owens, Chillicothe; Brigadier General Joseph V. Phelps, Salisbury; Brigadier General Francis H. Pope, St. Louis; Brigadier General William D. Powell, Kansas City; Brigadier General Don F. Pratt, Brookfield; Brigadier General Omar H. Quade, St. Charles and St. Louis; Brigadier General Donald B. Robinson; Brigadier General Edward E. Schwien, St. Joseph; Brigadier General A. Leonard Smith (retired), Fayette and St. Joseph.

Brigadier General Richard G. Tindall, Columbia and St. Louis; Major General Leroy H. Watson, St. Louis; Major General Charles M. Wesson, St. Louis; Major General John F. Williams, Columbia; Brigadier General Alexander Wilson, Farmington.

In the navy: Rear Admiral Freeland A. Daubin, Lamar; Rear Admiral Ralph E. Davison, St. Louis; Rear Admiral Jack H. Duncan, Ozark and Springfield; Rear Admiral Charles A. Dunn, Warrensburg; Rear Admiral Ben Moreell, St. Louis; Rear Admiral Norman Scott, (deceased), Kirkwood; and Rear Admiral Harold C. Train, Kansas City.

Marine corps: Brigadier General Alphonse DeCarre, St. Louis; and Brigadier General Lyle H. Miller, Lexington.

And still another Missouri leader "showed the world" when he ran a railroad through shells and fire during the North African fighting. It was Brigadier General Carl Gray, formerly of Springfield, and his special American-British railway corps who moved up with the front-line troops and performed a series of minor miracles to keep the vital rail supply lines open.

From the Allied headquarters in North Africa came the story of Lieutenant Billy H. Kerr of Huntsville who typifies what the Germans are up against in fighting Americans.

Bill Kerr went into the army from the University of Missouri and now wears three ribbons on his khaki shirt—the distinguished service cross, the silver star, and the purple heart with oak leaf cluster. But Bill would rather have a tooth pulled than talk about how he got them.

He won the distinguished service cross in the midst of heavy enemy shell fire at Sidi Bou Zid when Field Marshal Erwin Rommel staged his big tank smash against the American front. With complete disregard for his own safety, the young Missourian observed the battle from a turret as forward artillery observer. His tank was set afire but Kerr remained under shellfire and helped extinguish the blaze. His tank received many hits and he was painfully wounded, but he remained at his post calmly and continued to send back accurate fire data until darkness stopped the battle.

Staff Sergeant Emmet R. Worthey of Eldon, Missouri, a gunner on a flying fortress was making it pretty hot for Nazi fighter planes during the summer. Within one month's time, Sergeant Worthey was the subject of three dispatches from North Africa.

On June 8—Worthey was credited with the destruction of a Messerschmitt in the raid on Pantelleria. On July 7—Sergeant Worthey again made the news with three more Nazi fighter planes shot during a raid on Sicily.

Again Missouri heard of Eldon's Sergeant Worthey when he and Lieutenant J. Davis of Piedmont, were forced to leap from their respective fortress' into a native village in North Africa. Lieutenant Davis, in the first fortress, landed on rugged terrain. Sergeant Worthey and two of his crew mates in the second flying fortress had a most unexciting landing. They were uninjured and near the road, so they picked up a ride with an American convoy and rode back to their base.

Sergeant John P. Graham, St. Louis, gunner in a flying fortress, is mightly thankful for the rugged ships being made by factories at home for the fighting forces. His flying fortress took everything five German pursuit planes could hand out

for more than an hour over Bizerte. After riddling the bomber with bullets, puncturing gasoline tanks and knocking out two engines, the attackers abruptly left—just as the Americans donned parachutes to bail out.

"Kansas City Kiddie" was still making history in the South Pacific. Lieutenant Robert H. (Bob) White, Kansas City fighter ace, wore out his first plane shooting down Jap Zeroes, so his new Kittyhawk P-40 was christened "Kansas City Kiddie II."

An ex-music teacher, Lieutenant (j.g.) Robert Gibson of Unionville, Missouri, returned from the Pacific area credited with a part in sinking a Jap cruiser, two troop transports and a submarine in Guadalcanal defense. In the Pacific theater Lieutenant Gibson has disturbed the Japanese so badly they have charged him with murder and the destruction of more than 50 million dollars worth of property. The 23-year-old Marine flew off the carrier *Enterprise*.

A story of hand-to-hand fighting with sheath knives, along with some machine-gunning and grenade throwing was told by Corporal Clifford Everett, 20-year-old St. Louisan. Although he received a citation from Major General A. A. Vandegrift for guerrilla warfare behind the Japanese lines with Carlson's Raiders, his most vivid memory is of the day-long battle that accompanied the original landing in the Solomons.

As far as the Kouns family of Kansas City goes, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Wilmarth Kouns, commanding officer of a unit of paratroopers that moved up by transport plane to the battle of Sicily, is just part of their war contribution. Do the Kouns have any other children in the service?

Well, yes! Two daughters in the WAC—Lieutenant Margaret Ellis, and Lieutenant Genevieve Wakefield, and two sons-in-law, Leo Ellis, an aerial photographer in the navy, and Harlan Wakefield—Private William Harlan Wakefield, medical discharge. Another daughter, Ensign Juliet Kouns is a navy nurse in a California hospital. The fourth daughter is not a member of the armed forces yet, but her husband, Ensign Melvin Georgious, is a navy flier.

Then there is 19-year-old Archie Kouns, a machinist mate second class in the navy, and Lieutenant Maynard Kouns, jr., of the navy air force, now an instructor at Alameda, California. Don't forget the baby—17-year-old Bennard Moses Kouns who is training to be a navy flier at Norman, Oklahoma.

A "thrill a day" was the way Verne Prather of Prather's Hill, Clay county, chief aviation machinist's mate, described life aboard the aircraft carrier *Enterprise*—the famous killer carrier known as the "Big E." His greatest thrill, Prather said, was when the crew got the first plane ready to hunt Japanese forces after they learned Pearl Harbor had been attacked.

Prather said the great success of the *Enterprise* was due to the foresight of Admiral William F. Halsey, jr., and Rear Admiral George G. Murray who had them on a wartime footing for a year prior to Pearl Harbor.

"We aren't kidding in describing 'Big Jim'—Lieutenant James A. Moberly of Moberly, Missouri—as a tough, 2-gun man."

This description was written by Leo Branham, war correspondent at a United States bomber station in England, and also a Missourian from Moberly. "Big Jim," Branham states, has been known to stand with his feet spraddled wide and arms extended to the .50-caliber machine guns stationed on each side of his navigator compartment, keeping both chattering weapons sweeping back and forth over the skies. Lieutenant Moberly has been awarded the distinguished flying cross, the air medal and two clusters, and the purple heart.

The colonel comes from Missouri and laboratory tests left him skeptical—he had to see it to believe it.

So Lieutenant Colonel William Randolph Lovelace II, native of Springfield, surgeon and air forces expert on high altitude equipment made a parachute jump from 40,200 feet—the highest on record in this country. He convinced himself

and everybody else that the emergency oxygen equipment furnished to every army airman is all that laboratory tests indicate.

Private Blaine D. Hall of Kansas City will have to do some fast talking to make his friends of the "Show-Me" state believe that he dropped 700 feet beneath unopened parachutes and lived to ask for a new one! But it is a matter of authenticated records released by the army that the 19-year-old Missourian paratrooper plummeted out of a plane for his fifteenth practice jump at Fort Benning, Georgia. When his chute did not open properly, Private Hall counted as he had been taught and opened the emergency chute—but nothing happened. He landed on both feet, digging a sizable hole in the ground, and fell back on the base of his spine, sustaining a compressed fracture of the lumbar vertebra.

HOME SUPPORT FOR THE FIGHTING FORCES

"We have not yet won this war and we must not withhold any human effort in fighting it." Those were the words of President Roosevelt to civilian defense workers—"the millions of volunteers who have not questioned their country's need for their efforts in protecting our bulwarks at home."

The story of Missouri civilian defense is the tale of thousands of men and women who have given their time and effort to learning how to protect their homes and lives should enemy bombs fall on Missouri soil, to the USO, to gathering scrap and salvage, to buying and selling war bonds, and to the hundreds of other unglamorous jobs which must be done in war time.

Civilian defense councils are acting as coordinating agencies—coordinating all existing organizations of protection and service to prevent confusion and waste of effort.

The Missouri state council of defense heads the state organization of local and county councils. It is the state council's job to supervise and direct the actions of the other councils. The Missouri council also publishes weekly the *Progress Bulletin*—filled with items telling of the activities of local and county councils.

Local civilian defense must depend upon the work of volunteers. Volunteers learn to be: auxiliary firemen, rescue

squads, auxiliary police, bomb squads, fire watchers, feeding and housing, emergency medical personnel, nurses' aides, demolition and clearance crews, road repair crews, decontamination squads, messengers, drivers corps, and staff corps.

Special programs were created by the emergency: USO programs for the armed forces, programs for defense workers, and their families, salvage programs, sale of defense savings bonds, democracy programs, and programs in liaison and war relief organizations.

Community programs are intensified by the emergency—health, nutrition, consumer education and protection, family security, child welfare, recreation, education, and social protection.

The job of civilian defense is not glamorous nor particularly exciting, but it is important and exacting.

A war department civilian protection school was planned for St. Louis' twenty thousand members of the citizens' defense corps of the St. Louis office of civilian defense. The school presented the latest and most authentic information on civilian protection.

The Audrain county council of defense staged a successful surprise blackout test in Mexico and five other towns of the county last May. Laddonia reported all lights were extinguished, except one, immediately after the alarm sounded. Rush Hill reported one hundred per cent perfect with the exception of street lights.

Personnel of the state conservation commission of Missouri have contributed more than 14,000 hours to civilian defense. They provided information on the location of scrap metal for county councils of defense; actively participated in the establishment of rural and forest fire fighters service; correlated recipes and suggestions for the preparation of game and fish; and other services.

Sixty business men of St. Louis saw for themselves how life went on at Jefferson Barracks last May. Through drizzling rain the men heaved themselves in and out of jeeps and trucks, trudged up and down muddy woodland paths, and tramped through barracks and recreation buildings.

St. Louis business men worked hard through the summer outside their day-time jobs. Twelve office workers and professional men started work on the "split-shift" of war plants. The plan is that the men work from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. after their regular day's work is over.

"Many a civilian wartime hardship has been stoically accepted in the hope that it will all come out in the wash. Now everyone is wondering when the wash will come out."

Kansas City laundries are short of help and supplies, while the city's population continues to grow. As a result an increasing number of housewives are deciding that they will have to do their laundry at home.

Equipment available is scanty, indeed—a victory wash board, with wood, glass, or plastic face—a cotton clothes line and some pieces of wood behind a sign labeled "clothes pins."

The sirloin was gone for the nonce . . . the roast was no longer in our midst . . . the pork chop was of blessed memory.

During the last of June and the first of July meat markets in St. Louis were almost cleaned out. With only a bleak future of vegetarianism before them, St. Louisians gazed at empty meat counters, seeing visions of sizzling, dripping T-bone steaks—just off the charcoal, with mushrooms, with onions, with cream gravy, stuffed, dabbed with pineapple or tomato, broiled, roasted. Just any way!

One market in St. Louis is out of beef for the first time in its forty-year history.

But the complex food price regulations which came out of Washington some time ago are now translated for the first time into terms of dollars and cents. To do this the office of price administration set "market basket" price ceilings early last May. At that time St. Louis officials worked night and day computing maximum prices for some twenty-five important grocery items including bread, butter, eggs, coffee, lard, poultry, fluid milk, sugar, cereals, packaged cheese, flour, and evaporated and condensed milk.

Missouri's four and one-half million number 3 ration books were processed and mailed from Kansas City with the

help of volunteers. Kansas City led the six-state area in issuance of number 3 ration books and was third in the nation when they had 2,588,930 books in the mail by June 25.

Shoe stamp "17" became a memory in June, but the mad rush to spend the precious stamp during the last few days before the deadline is a nightmare in the minds of most shoe salesmen.

"Our business," said the head of a shoe department of a Kansas City department store, "hasn't increased or decreased markedly since rationing began. It's just that it comes in spurts."

Last summer the office of price administration decided to put its allotments of sugar for home canning on an "honor system," up to 10 pounds per person. Two coupons in ration book number 1 were used for this extra sugar, and if more was needed an application had to be made to the ration boards up to a maximum of 15 pounds per person.

The dream of new tires for every "A" book holder seems to have passed into an oblivion similar to that of the "chicken in every pot." Last June only those cars allowed to travel 720 or more miles a month had a chance to obtain grade one tires—and then they had no assurance that the tires would be of new rubber.

To those who complain about tire and gasoline rationing, it might be interesting to note that it took 1½ million gallons of gasoline a day in the North African campaign to supply the planes and mechanized units of the Allied armies.

During the first three months of gasoline rationing automobile traffic in St. Louis decreased 36 per cent. The largest decrease was recorded on the Express highway, the main artery of travel from points in St. Louis county to downtown St. Louis.

Yes, Missourians were doing without. Last summer if you couldn't reach the favorite fishing grounds by some other means than your own car you just forgot about the whole thing. War brides put money into bonds rather than precious flat silver—or at best bought only service for two.

The educational institutions of Missouri are doing their share in training members of the army, navy, and marines—in spite of a drastic shortage of teachers from draft, enlistment, and defense plants.

To retain the teaching positions for the men when the war is ended, the University of Missouri renewed the leaves of absence taken by faculty members who left more than a year ago. Extensions will also be granted all faculty members on leave when their present leaves expire.

There have also been 140 staff changes for the university—most of them consisting of appointment of veteran faculty members for duty with the civilian and air corps training programs in progress.

The Central Missouri State Teachers college has joined the list of Missouri schools approved by the bureau of naval personnel to give basic training under the navy's V-12 program.

Sixty students in the University of Missouri's school of medicine donned the khaki and equipment of soldiers on active duty at Jefferson Barracks in June. After their return to Columbia they moved into barracks and shared the mess of the army air corps detachment at Crowder hall.

For the second time in twenty-five years, Westminster college began training members of the armed forces. Nearly three hundred Naval cadet students started their training in July. Most of the men are in the V-12 class, but some are medical students.

The St. Louis university law school suspended instruction—probably for the duration. At the same time St. Louis university made alterations to provide dining facilities and quarters for a contingent of students in the army specialist training program.

Two hundred members of the first class at the William Jewell naval flight preparatory school graduated last June after three months' training.

Missourians gave the vital blood plasma needed so desperately in areas where American men and women are

wounded in battle. The collection of this plasma is one of the great jobs undertaken by the Red Cross.

One hundred and thirty-one donors drove from Marceline, Missouri, to the Kansas City Red Cross headquarters to give a pint of blood each. The trip was made because the mobile unit in Kansas City was scheduled far in advance, and the Marceline folk didn't want to wait for it.

Mrs. Homer Atkinson, North Kansas City, with eight cousins in the armed forces, contributed her fifth pint of blood in a year's time.

In Warrensburg the Red Cross mobile blood donor unit from Kansas City obtained 324 pints of blood during the 2-day stay.

Ray and Caldwell counties contributed a total of 751 pints of blood plasma to the American Red Cross. Among the donors at Hamilton was a young man who was scheduled to go into the Army Air Corps on the following day. He said he wanted the Red Cross to have the blood as he might need it again some time as a member of the armed forces.

Officers and enlisted men of the reception center of Jefferson Barracks donated 276 pints of blood—establishing a new daily record collection for the St. Louis mobile unit.

During the year ending last July, the Red Cross of Kansas City had held a total of 583 first aid classes and trained 10,746 persons. The city's 203 first aid instructors—most of them volunteers—put in 19,090 hours in instruction.

With strawberries ripening and the hay crop ready to be cut the farmers of Johnson county decided to whip the farm labor shortage and save their crops.

A pool of volunteer labor that ranged from part time efforts of business men to women and students was organized. When the strawberries and hay were in, there were potatoes to dig, cows to milk, and all varieties of vegetables to be harvested.

There was a new farmhand last spring at the Samuel Inman place, south of Blue Springs. He was 24-year-old Lieutenant Arthur Norman Inman, a veteran of sixty missions and 450 hours of combat flying in the Southwest Pacific,

home on a 15-day leave. The young lieutenant quickly slipped his five medals into his service bag and donned his old overalls and blue work shirt as he helped his father with the farm chores.

Uncle Bob Martin and his wife, Aunt Ann, of Richards, are eager to see Uncle Sam win his war quickly. Although 87 and 75 years old respectively, by July 1 they had grown and harvested six bushels of potatoes, enough beans for Aunt Ann to can 100 quarts, and produced roasting ears for their table.

Old-timers in Kansas City would not recognize the site on which many years ago flourished the beautiful flower garden nurtured by William Rockhill Nelson for his daughter, Laura. Today it is the William Rockhill Nelson Victory garden—hoed and fertilized by families living in the Rockhill district.

MISSOURI WOMEN IN THE WAR

Whether on the farm or in the armed forces—in the home or before a precision machine in a war factory—you'll find Missouri's women where there is work to be done. Often she is doing not one, but two or three of these war jobs.

It is up to the women of our state, and of our nation, to bolster the morale of her family even though she may be left to carry on alone after her men have left for a more dangerous job.

At a sewing machine—one of the old-fashioned foot treadle kind—sits an amazingly young old-lady. Her eyes are alive, and her movements are quick and sure. She is Mrs. Lillian Magness, 84, of Kansas City, who has given a total of 2400 hours to the surgical dressing department since January 1940, and has done 700 hours of knitting.

Mrs. James Dungy, who lives near Pattonsburg, Missouri, is the mother of nine boys—seven of whom are in the army or navy. The eighth hopes he can enlist as soon as he is 17, and the ninth son operates a farm in Iowa.

About 125 St. Louis women who have sons in the armed forces trooped out to Jefferson Barracks last June and probed into the military life with a stern, maternal eye. The visitors

tested mattresses, felt for dust in the barracks, and tasted the food.

Women are doing much of the work at a Kansas City bomber plant. They are standing behind machines which tower in a threatening mass over their heads. The job of flying the proud Mitchell B-25 bombers is given to men exclusively—but not the job of building them. Thirty-five per cent of the Kansas City plant's personnel now is made up of women—an impressive figure for a so-called "heavy" industry.

The Women's army auxiliary corps became members of the United States army—the Women's army corps—by act of Congress. They are now subject to military discipline and eligible for pensions and other benefits of the regular military establishment.

An intensive city-wide survey for eligible WACs began the first day of July in St. Louis. "The Army is in urgent need of thousands of additional volunteers for the WAAC," Major General F. E. Uhl, commander of the Seventh Service Command, said. "Under present authorization it is desired to expand the corps to 150,000, or the equivalent of 10 combat divisions."

A special army signal corps training program for women interested in becoming aircraft radio cadettes was established at the University of Missouri last July.

WACs from Missouri are now in Africa. Second Officer Sarah Ann Bagby of New Haven, confidential secretary to General Carl Spaatz, and Auxiliary First Class Bernice A. Rongey of Granite City, were among the second detachment of seventy-one WACs who landed in North Africa.

Second in command of the WACs in North Africa is Captain Evelyn Burke Nicholson of St. Louis. She is 29, married, has her own law practice in St. Louis, and was president of the St. Louis Women's Bar association.

Private Bonnie Jean Capoot of the Marine corps women's division is the subject of an illustrated story in the July issue of the *Screen Guide* magazine. Private Capoot of Kansas City is the object of the photographer's art in an article en-

titled "A Marine Tells Us,"—telling the story in photographs of a young woman from the time she enters Hunter college until she finishes her training for the Marines.

MISSOURIANS PASS THE AMMUNITION

The Missouri War Chest, inc., was born of the war. As a member of the national war fund, the Missouri organization aids local counties and communities in setting up campaigns to raise money for war needs.

The list of participating agencies is an imposing one: USO, United seamen's service, inc., United China relief, inc., Greek war relief association, inc., War prisoner's aid committee, Belgian war relief society, inc., French relief fund, inc., Norwegian relief, inc., Polish war relief, inc., Queen Wilhelmina fund, inc., Refugee relief trustees, inc., Russian war relief, inc., United States committee for the care of European children, United Yugoslav relief fund, and the World emergency and war victims fund.

A co-ordinated, statewide campaign was planned by Missouri's War Chest to finance work of the national war fund and local social agencies.

Russian War Relief, inc., opened a five-state regional office in St. Louis last June to direct clothing collection work and other relief activities for the organization in Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.

To take care of "between drive" investments of school children, the St. Louis schools set up war saving stamps and bond booths at each of their sixty-five playgrounds during the summer months.

Audrain county staged an auction in Mexico, to which merchants, farmers, and housewives donated 186 items. During the two and one-half hours of bidding, \$47,450 in war securities were sold. The highlight of the auction came when "Miss Victory"—a small pig—brought \$5,000.

The national scrap quota for the last half of 1943 was raised last July from 13 million to 15 million tons to supply the steel mills with necessary scrap.

U. S. army soldiers and trucks from Fort Leonard Wood collected a total of three hundred tons of scrap in a drive in Butler county, and soldiers from Camp Crowder collected 600 tons of scrap in a similar drive in Jasper county.

Kansas City boys and girls not over 15 years of age were given tickets good at any theater in exchange for fifty pounds or more of scrap metal.

Waste fats must also go to war in the form of explosive glycerin, and Missouri housewives were turning in fats to their butchers regularly through the summer. Springfield's waste fat collection for April totaled 14,837 pounds. Two hundred fifty-six pounds of the fat was contributed.

Sikeston was shipping out more than a ton of waste fats every month early in the summer, having increased shipments more than 1700 pounds in two months.

MISSOURIANA

Stump Speaking and Fence Mending
Murder to Music
Furs, Shinplaster, and Pennies
West With Pike
Missouri Miniatures—Robert Somers Brookings, James Gay
Butler
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri
Missouri Scrapbook.

STUMP SPEAKING AND FENCE MENDING

The crowd shifted uneasily, many mouths agape and ears straining expectantly, waiting for the verdict of the people. This was the final moment of the campaign which had been waged so vociferously. As the results were read to the assembly, some faces fell but the victors could no longer be restrained. The election was won—here was everything for which they had fought.

In Missouri, probably the most colorful elections were those of the forties when the characteristics of Jacksonian democracy came to full flower. Early in April 1840, the Whigs of Palmyra met at the local tavern and hotel at early candlelight to organize a "Tippecanoe Club." Similar societies favoring William Henry Harrison aroused much enthusiasm in other towns.

Local poets struggled to put their energies in verse to be sung to the tunes of "Yankee Doodle" or "Auld Lang Syne." The clubs then cheered and sang ten or twelve stanzas, among them:

The dandy Mat shall stand aside,
Perhaps in Eaton's room, sir,
'Neath petticoats he there may hide,
Or act the part of groom, sir.

One shout for Tip, long, loud and high,
And then my song is o'er sirs;
Ye Locos bid your spoils good-bye,
Ye'll get them now no more, sirs.

The unique note in the pageant of that year was the part the log cabin played in the campaign. Borrowing from the Jacksonian Democrats' emphasis on the vote of the frontiersman, the Whigs called themselves the "log cabin boys" and carried their emblem to rallies at mills or courthouse speeches. Even a newspaper, entitled *The Log Cabin Hero*, was advertised to be published in St. Louis from May until the election to advance to the presidency the people's candidate, General Harrison.

On May 5, the anniversary of the capture of Fort Meigs by Harrison in 1813, the Whigs held a great political camp meeting at St. Louis featuring the inevitable log cabin and hard cider. Delegations and visitors from the surrounding towns and countryside brought to the city the largest assembly that had ever gathered, estimated from seven to twelve thousand. A mounted club from St. Clair county arrived about the time that the steamboat *Flora*, decorated with banners, drew up to the wharf crowded with passengers from Alton, and the *Rosalie*, similarly laden, steamed down from Hannibal.

About nine o'clock in the morning, the boisterous procession formed, composed of the log cabin clubs, each armed with banners and floats. Printers, blacksmiths, cabinet and brick-makers, boatmen, draymen, and other laborers, each carrying the tools of his trade, struck a blow with an appropriate motto for the election of their candidate.

Mounted on immense wheels drawn by eighteen oxen, a model of Fort Meigs had been built by one club. Carriages filled with old soldiers, Harrison's former campaigners, accompanied the parade. Many of the standards and flags carried pictures depicting political slogans or colorful episodes in their candidate's life. Here swayed a monster with the head of a fox and the body of a serpent in the beak of an eagle. There stood the old farmer at his plough, and behind that flag a long expanse of river scenery and a steamboat inscribed, "free trade and sailor's rights."

In the middle of the grounds where the crowd gathered stood a log cabin especially erected for the occasion. Scat-

tered over the lawn were stands ready for the speakers of the day to challenge the enemy.

The speakers were all animated, vehement, and rather coarse. In carrying a point in the open air against a huge crowd, noisy and easily distracted, musically tuned periods and fine-spun arguments had no effect. The oratory was bold, impassioned, directed at arousing mass emotion. Masculine shouting and applause often drowned the voices of the orators while the women waved handkerchiefs and smiled approvingly. One speaker was perched on a gun carriage of the model of Fort Meigs; another, who had been recently converted to the Whig party, urged his former Democratic cronies, the Loco Focos, to "repent of their sins and come into the true church."

In the meantime, a table had been spread under the trees and the inevitable draughts to wash down the windy speeches were poured out copiously—beer, hard cider, and "good Missouri water, well iced." Excessive drinking was so common a part of electioneering that the reporter mentioned the exception. On this occasion at least, there was "no drunkenness and its usual concomitants black eyes and bloody noses."

A similar two-day convention was held in Hannibal in August. As the steamboats *Tippecanoe* and *Rosalie*, taking a delegation from St. Louis, left the wharf, one man spoke and the crowd on shore cheered. Proceeding upstream, many people gathered at the river towns to cheer the boats on their way and often to add other delegations.

When they rounded the bend of the river at Hannibal, the town appeared with the housetops, hills, and valleys covered with people awaiting the arrival of the steamboats. Cannons and hurrahs deafened their ears while flags and banners streamed in the air, welcoming the visitors.

A procession formed and marched to the camp ground about a mile from town. A specially prepared barbecue preceded the afternoon speeches. That evening additional orations entertained the crowd that surrounded the courthouse until almost midnight.

On the second day, the soldiers of the Revolution and especially those who had accompanied Harrison on his cam-

paigns related their war experiences to the multitude. The women of Hannibal had made a flag, adorned with appropriate devices and mottoes, which was presented by a young girl to the soldiers. The veterans accepted it in an orate speech by one of their members. The convention was adjourned that evening with a ball, attended by some women who had traveled fifty miles, perhaps especially for that purpose.

When the Whigs won in November, those of Palmyra celebrated by illuminating, or placing candles in all the windows, at the signal of a bell. One merchant hung the significant "O. K." in his, assuring his fellowtownsmen that "Oll was Kerrect." Later a dinner was held in the hotel and, following the removal of the cloth, the usual drinking of toasts expanded the hilarity.

In Fayette, the news of the election results came thundering into town on the wheels of the stagecoach. The citizens were aroused from breakfast by the sharp twang of the stage horn and volleys from its guns. Streaming flags, a log cabin, and a cider barrel left them not long in doubt as to the winners. Whigs left for the post office to lay plans for an illumination, dinner, and ball, but the losers sought the "shady side of their houses."

A long procession, cheered by waving handkerchiefs and hurrahs from windows and doorways, accompanied the progress of the celebrators to the hotel where champagne waited to flavor the toasts and enliven the Tippecanoe songs. The following ball was so gay that to persuade the men to go home, the women found it necessary to form in line and sing patriotic airs.

In the interim between the elections of 1840 and 1844, the Whigs went back to their former leader, Henry Clay. Among other composers of Whig songs, a Columbia poetess wrote a song of six stanzas and chorus, widely acclaimed in her home town:

Leave vain regrets for errors past
Nor cast *the ship* away;
But nail your colors to the mast,
And strike for HARRY CLAY!

Woodcuts advertising Clay clubs to be organized appeared in January 1844 striking the patriotic note with an eagle, complete with shield, arrows, and olive branches. Washington's birthday was one signal for an outburst of enthusiasm at county courthouses. Accompanied by martial band-music, the local militia paraded in Palmyra. Each member was provided with thirteen rounds of blank cartridges, white shoulder straps and belts over their winter uniforms. Balls often followed other festivities.

In May a free barbecue was held at an academy at Columbia to which all candidates were invited. Speakers of both parties were requested to attend. Throughout the summer other towns and counties held barbecues and candidates addressed their fellow citizens.

In June a two-day celebration was held in St. Louis. When the steamboat bearing the clubs from Howard, Chariton, and Saline counties arrived at Boonville, they marched through the town amid waving handkerchiefs and rousing cheers, carrying a banner made by the women of the town. At Jefferson City, they filed by moonlight to the statehouse, accompanied by a band and surrounded by the cheering citizens. At sunrise they were saluted with cannon and band when they embarked.

The St. Louis committee had erected a flagstaff 170 feet high from which floated a flag 60 feet long and 40 feet wide beneath a gilt eagle. Other delegations carried banners inscribed with poetry and sewn by the women. Spread eagles and stars were favorite emblems. One banner was made of domestic bagging with hemp tassels, pendants of coon tails and streamers of tobacco leaves. Another carried a log cabin in the center of the standard with the latchstring hanging out.

In July the state Democratic convention was held at Boonville for two days. About two thousand were present to hear Thomas Hart Benton in the afternoon. The usual procession introduced the proceedings and a barbecue spread on the tables made the day more enjoyable. The customary round of speeches was given at the courthouse.

The Whigs, not to be outdone by the Democrats, struck just before the election with an October convention in Boon-

ville. The Fayette delegation collected early one morning, bringing wagons, provisions, tents, bedding, and baggage for the several days' stay. Those who preferred to go by steamboat from Glasgow were able to do so for three dollars, including entertainment by a band of music on board. A rally at Columbia and a torchlight procession preceded the departure of those delegates for the convention.

Thirty counties were represented at Boonville, and it was estimated that eight to twelve thousand persons attended. A company of cavalry and a brass band led the procession. During the morning the populace was startled by the discharge of guns that signaled the approach of a sailboat piloted by the glee club of Glasgow. As they disembarked, they sang and later entertained at the speakers' stand during the day. The next day the customary parade to the grounds was accompanied by the cheers and waving of handkerchiefs and flags by women from windows and balconies. Bursts of cheering, songs by the clubs, and rounds of cannon often disrupted the music by the band.

On the grounds the speakers' stand was ornamented with evergreen, surmounted by the "bird of liberty" and likenesses of Clay. The speeches were interrupted by a dinner served to more than seven thousand on the grounds. Songs and amusing addresses, among them one by James S. Rollins of Columbia, kept the audience in a roar of laughter. After supper, a magnificent torchlight procession marched through the streets and out to the stands for more speeches.

The Whigs had earlier raised an ash pole for the flag during the convention. On the night before the opening morning, the Loco Focos put up one twice as tall hoping to humiliate the Whigs. About dawn, however, a high wind broke off the Democratic pole and brought down their pride. Unfortunately also for the Whigs, some one cut the Howard banner with a knife. This indignity was highly resented and the clubs of Cooper county offered a reward of \$100 for the apprehension of the felon.

Despite the advertising the Whigs had carried in the newspapers with woodcuts of their emblems—coons, eagles,

and flags for Clay—the actions that had helped win the election of 1840, and the use of numerous conventions, they lost the election of 1844. The cover, drawn from the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, June 7, 1844, illustrates the type of cut that the Whigs ran to advertise their party. They were compelled to moan with Switzler, the *Columbia* editor: "Our faces are covered with mortification, and our hearts bleed to tell the tale But it is true, true The Whig cause lies prostrate."

By the next election year, the contest passed without any of the excitement that had traditionally accompanied the political revolutions. Indeed, one editor complained that it would perhaps have been better if more enthusiasm had been shown.

MURDER TO MUSIC

"Oh! the dirty little coward, That shot poor Mister Howard" the notorious victim of Ford's bullet and his like have perhaps brought Missouri as much notoriety as any other single factor. The deeds of Missourians, set to music, have been sung all over the country.

Soon after the "dastardly" shooting of Jesse James, songs spread over all the land celebrating his fate with pathetic dogerel. The chorus of the most popular ballad lamented:

Jesse James had a wife,
She's a mourner all her life,
His children, too, were brave.
Oh! the dirty little coward,
That shot poor Mister Howard
And laid Jesse James in his grave.

Another seemed to anticipate the engagingly loose rhymes of Ogden Nash in one of the most cherished couplets of American folksong.

Jesse James had a horse
Who loved the bandit boss

The balladry inspired by deceased bandits and heroes was varied and voluminous. In *Frontier Ballads*, Charles J. Finger

claims his version of the Jesse James song came from a broad sheet, yellowed with age, miserably printed, and made more hideous by a floriated border that fenced the song.

The man who sold it for two bits appeared at Mr. Finger's shanty on Devil's river in Texas one night. Leathery wrinkles in his withered face encased desert dirt as he told genial tales. Finger could not bring himself to question too closely. He lived, he said, by selling "rare documents."

His "documents" had no tunes. "You see," he explained, "these rare old songs they are called classics and don't have no tune." He paused, seemed to spy the need of another sales argument, then added, "Of course there are other songs about this here hero, but not authentic."

This was the old man's "authentic" version.

Jesse leaves a wife to mourn all her life,
The children he left will pray
For the thief and the coward
Who shot Mister Howard,
And laid Jesse James in his grave.

Still another version was heard from an old colored man—and, although undoubtedly a corruption, "it is worth hearing."

Jesse James was a boy that downed many a man,
He held up the Danville train,
He robbed from the rich and he gave to the poor,
He'd a hand and a heart and a brain.

Poor Jesse left a wife to mourn all her life,
His children three were brave

Special emphasis in all the James songs lies upon the word, "coward," because Ford was always placed in the role of a super-Judas.

Some singers change the words, wrench the tune, or interject references to Ford's ancestry. Singers often roam from key to key unconsciously giving an effect of artistic confusion.

Notorious among Jesse James' cohorts was Quantrell, infamous hero of a ballad which describes a daring raid on Lawrence, Kansas. Finger suggests a mood of haggard indignation for the singers of this song.

Come all you bold robbers and open your ears,
Of Quantrell the lion heart you quickly shall hear
With his band of bold raiders in double quick time
He came to lay Lawrence low, over the line
All routing and shouting and giving the yell,
Like so many demons just raised up from hell,
The boys they were drunken with powder and wine,
And came to burn Lawrence just over the line.

The ballad continues with gusto.

They came to burn Lawrence, they came not to stay . . .
With guns all a-waving and horses all foam,
And Quantrell a-riding his famous big roan.

In one verse Quantrell slips into the popular Robin Hood myth into which all "brave" robbers are sooner or later placed.

Oh, Quantrell's a fighter, a bold-hearted boy,
A brave man or woman he'd never annoy,
He'd take from the wealthy and give to the poor,
For brave men there's never a bolt to his door.

These are only two of Missouri's famous outlaw and guerilla chiefs. It is indeed strange and singular that no song could be found in the books and manuscripts available lauding the deeds of Sam Hildebrand—guerilla of southeast Missouri.

No collection of Missouri songs would be complete without the ballad *Frankie and Johnny*. But, like Sigmund Spaeth in his *Read 'Em And Weep*, we approach "this renowned ballad with a bit of fear and trembling" for "everybody that knows anything at all about *Frankie and Johnny* is likely to have a version of his or her own, and there is nothing so rabid for righteousness, so bristling with self-defense, as the dyed-in-the-wool Frankie-and-Johnnie fan."

Sigmund Spaeth placed the date of *Frankie and Johnnie* sometime between 1840 and 1850. However, a modern Frankie appeared on the scene in February 1942 to contest the right of Republic Pictures corporation to use the barroom ballad.

Frankie Baker claimed in the courtroom that she was "humiliated" to the tune of \$200,000 because her own account of the shooting of her man was often at variance with the

fictional version. According to the 66-year-old colored woman, the shooting occurred early one October morning in 1899 in a "rooming house" at 212 Targee street and not in a saloon.

"Al was a conceited piano player—not a sporting man," Frankie said. "He'd been staying at my house off and on for a couple of years, although I knew he went out once in a while with Alice Pryor."

Frankie Baker had been released in 1899 for the shooting had been ruled an act of self-defense. In 1942 she collected nothing for her "humiliation."

It is generally agreed that the story of *Frankie and Johnnie* is a true one and the locale was St. Louis.

Frankie and Johnnie were lovers,
O-my-gawd how they did love,
They swore to be true to each other
Just as true as the stars up above,
He was her man,
But he done her wrong.

Frankie and Johnny were happily in love until Johnny "done her wrong" by running around with a yellow girl named Alice, who had blue eyes. On hearing of this Frankie was wild with jealousy.

Frankie went down to the pawn-shop,
She bought herself a little forty-four,
She aimed it at the ceiling,
And shot a big hole in the floor,
"Where is my man?
He's doing me wrong."

At this point the plot branches off into several versions. They all agree, however, that Frankie killed Johnny, and that quite dramatically.

One version claims Frankie went to a bartender to find her "lovin' Johnnie." The bartender was a white man and the killing took place in a house of ill fame. Another version states that the bartender was colored and the killing took place in the saloon. Thomas Hart Benton followed the latter version in his spirited murals in the capitol in Jefferson City.

After the shooting it is merely a question as to how long you personally want to drag it out. There are two stanzas which are necessary to round off the story.

"Roll me over easy,
Roll me over slow,
Roll me over easy, boy,
'Cause my wounds they hurt me so.
But I was your man,
And I done you wrong."

"Bring out your rubber-tired carriage,
Bring out your rubber-tired hack,
I'm goin' to take my man to the cemetery,
And I ain't a-goin' to bring him back,
For he was my man,
And he done me wrong."

FURS, SHINPLASTER, AND PENNIES

On the westward march of American settlement, one common problem of all the pioneers was the lack of money or specie with which to do business. Missouri shared this problem with her sister pioneer states. Before the influx of American settlers from the East, the French and Spanish colonies had had to cope with the lack of money. Some substitute had to be found for trade among themselves and with the Indians.

Trade with the Indians brought about the use of wampum. Beads, white and black or purple beads strung on a leather thong, were the first coins used by white settlers in Missouri. Made out of the shells of mussels, this currency substitute had some circulation among the settlers but was soon replaced by fur as a medium of exchange.

Salt, potash, whiskey, beeswax, maple sugar, fish, and lead were traded by the pioneer for his needs. These commodities were bartered, though, and were not a standard of value as were furs.

Prices were computed on a fur basis. Various kinds of skins had a definite value by the "pack" which was an established quantity by weight. For example, a pound of shaved deerskins was valued at forty cents for the finest quality, thirty cents for medium, and twenty cents for inferior grade.

Auguste Chouteau, an early fur trader, kept his books with the debits and credits in terms of *livres*, a French coin. In one year, he had a business of 360,000 *livres* but no coin actually changed hands. The trapper took his skins to the warehouse where they were weighed and priced. A credit for the value of his season's trap was entered in his favor on the company books against which he could trade.

A further development of the peltry currency was the issuance of paper against the furs stored or deposited in warehouses. These papers were called "bons" and were an order or note for goods redeemable in furs. Peltry was still the standard of value, these notes eliminated the inconvenience of carrying around large bundles of skins.

When the bons or skins themselves were presented to pay for a purchase, specie was so scarce in the French and Spanish settlements that no small coins were available to make change. Change was given in commodities or left as a credit to purchasers.

When the Spanish government assumed control, considerable Spanish coin came into circulation. While this alleviated the situation somewhat, a sufficient quantity was not at hand to do away with the "fur money." To supply the need for small coins, merchants broke the big round Spanish dollars into quarters. Even the quarters were split into two-bits, the origin of "two bits"—an expression still common. Change for a purchase of less than a bit was given in notions, pins, needles, or sheets of paper.

The settlers usually hoarded the "hard money" that came into their possession. One St. Louis plutocrat died and left a will disposing of "four hundred hard dollars" he had cached away. This tendency to hold on to the gold and silver coin lessened the amount of coin in circulation.

Gottfried Duden saw a definite advantage in this lack of coin. He humorously observed in his "Report" that "The household, having thus been established, and the first acquisitions paid for, the family lives care-free and happy without the least bit of ready money on hand. This is the true reason why small sums of money are regarded as of less value than in Europe. If the man of the house does bring home some

money, then his wife finds herself at once in need of something, and the peace of the household is usually disturbed until everything has been spent for gewgaws."

Next to peltry, the best medium of certain value was the *carotte* of tobacco. This was a hard twist of tobacco leaves which, although it was fairly easy to carry, had only limited circulation. Another substitute was lead. Although it was the most common currency in the mining district of southeastern Missouri, its use was predominant only in that section.

In 1804 with the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, a new government was set up and St. Louis became an important military post. Troops and government officials came in. The obligations incurred by the government for the pay and supplying of the troops were paid with federal warrants or bills on the United States treasury. These warrants were readily accepted as they were backed by the United States government.

During the territorial and early statehood decades, the influx of settlers brought in currency of many kinds. Coins from England, Germany, and Italy mingled with the American and Spanish money and were freely accepted—even welcomed as they added to the meagre stock of coin. A large percentage of this specie went to purchase public lands and the metallic money went out of the State to the East. Other great drains on the supply of coin were the payment of mercantile obligations and the policy of the United States bank.

The Bank of St. Louis and the Bank of Missouri, established in 1816 and 1817, respectively, increased the volume of currency by issuing bank notes in one, three, five, and twenty dollar denominations. The failure of these banks a few years after removed this source of circulating paper. The issues of private banks were made unlawful by the state legislature in 1820. Some private paper came in from out-of-state banks, particularly in the thirties.

On June 27, 1821, the state legislature passed the loan office act. Five loan offices through which \$200,000 worth of certificates were to be issued were established. The certificates, in denominations of fifty cents to ten dollars, were given as loans on farms and to promoters of industry. For a time these

certificates passed as currency but they were declared unconstitutional by the supreme court.

The Santa Fe trade with its Missouri outlet brought a great deal of hard money into Missouri. A good part of this specie probably went on East but some of it filtered out through the State and supplied the dire need of circulating coin. However, the Santa Fe trade was one of the factors responsible for Missouri's not being affected immediately or so heavily by the panic of 1837.

Paper money from other states flooded Missouri. To this cheap paper currency, the derisive name of "shinplaster" was applied. It also was known as "white dog," "blue dog," or "blue pup." As specie payment was soon suspended on this cheap paper after the beginning of the depression, its possession left many Missourians in straightened circumstances.

The lack of an adequate currency was felt strongly in Missouri during this period. By 1839 a crucial contest between the Bank of Missouri, established in 1837, and the business interests of St. Louis developed. The bank had declared that it would no longer accept on deposit the notes of neighboring states that had suspended specie payment. The merchants protested, the bank remained firm. The business men began to remove their deposits and place them with insurance and other incorporated companies. These illegal banking facilities, as a result for the demand for an enlarged currency, forced the shinplaster notes into circulation.

Finally in 1841, St. Louis and St. Louis county began to issue city warrants in small denominations. Other Missouri cities followed their example—the scrip being in one, two, and three dollar denominations. The result was that, in St. Louis and all over the State, so many kinds of paper were in circulation that elaborate reports, quotations, and counterfeit detectors were necessary to keep track of the value and authenticity of the currency.

These policies brought inevitable ruin and hard times came to Missouri. Remedial legislation was passed February 28, 1843—a victory for the hard money Bentonites—prohibiting all corporate and municipal bodies from dealing in

paper of suspended banks. Missouri recovered quickly from the effects of the panic.

The state banking legislation of 1857 provided for an ample and sound currency in Missouri. These bank notes, payable in specie and circulating within the State at par, were superseded by the issues of the national bank system in 1862.

However as late as the mid-seventies, the lack of small coins was still felt in St. Louis. Pennies were very scarce, were rarely seen except as change for stamps at the postoffice. When the *St. Louis Chronicle* began publication, it was intended for a penny sheet but it was found that there was not a sufficient supply of the copper pieces in St. Louis to handle the business. Barrels of pennies were imported so change could be made. At first the merchants protested, they had been giving change only in nickles, but one by one the stores began to adopt the use of pennies. The smallest coins were now available in Missouri.

WEST WITH PIKE

On his right loomed the huge mass rising suddenly out of the flat brown lands. Only half an hour before the magnificent white pyramid that thrust its challenge to the skies had appeared as a small blue cloud through his glass. With one impulse, Pike and his dauntless followers strode to the top of a foothill and gave three cheers for the Mexican mountains.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike thus had his first glimpse of the mountain that was to bear his name. Although the peak has become the symbol of the man in the popular mind, its discovery was but an excursion of his party on the journey up the Arkansas river in 1806 and 1807. This was the second exploration under Pike's leadership that expanded the knowledge of the Louisiana territory.

Although his travels were less applauded than those of his contemporary pathfinders, his second exploration was perhaps more hazardous since he was braving both civilized and savage hostile nations. His pioneering achievements publicized the Santa Fe trail, stirred national consciousness of the grandeur of the Great Plains, marked out the course of the Mississippi,

and withdrew partially the Spanish veil of secrecy that covered the growing unrest in Mexico.

When General James Wilkinson, of dubious fame, chose Pike to conduct the Mississippi expedition, he was given the first opportunity of a brilliant military career at the age of twenty-six. The problem of the Indians in the northern reaches of the Mississippi region made such a scouting party necessary. According to his orders, Pike was to report on the various tribes, to secure their loyalty for the United States, and to establish peace among the warring nations. Other duties included observations on the course of the river, distances, geography, climate, and the natural resources of the area.

Despite the multiplicity of these instructions, he was able to do even more than was required with his skeleton force of only one sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen privates. Sailing on August 9, 1805, from St. Louis in a seventy-foot keelboat, the party began its campaign upstream with provisions to last for four months. The constant danger and delay of snags and sandbars impeded their voyage up the Mississippi through the section that is now a part of Missouri.

While traveling conditions were still good in mid-September, they sailed upriver with their violins and other instruments playing gay tunes, but within two weeks they were suffering from zero cold and the boats were springing leaks in the rapids. As his boat could navigate no farther from the present Little Falls, he built a stockade for supplies and pushed on north, leaving the sergeant and the weakest members of his force behind.

Besides the natural difficulties that mounted as winter approached and the party made its way up the frozen river channel, accidents such as the fire that destroyed his tents and much of his clothing threatened his campaign at every turn of the shore.

Finally on the first of February he arrived at Leech lake which he took to be the main source of the Mississippi river. Fortunately, he was able to stop at a fort of the British Northwest company for aid since he and his men were suffering from frostbite.

The British trappers had infiltrated the swamps and lakes of the upper Mississippi and Pike found it difficult to break the ties of the Chippeways to Britain. However, a discreet use of a firearms exhibition and gifts of liquor, blankets, and mirrors weaned the tribes from their earlier loyalties, and the party departed amid the shouts of the now satisfied Indians.

When they arrived at the stockade, Pike found that his unreliable sergeant had used all the fine hams and venison which he had hoped to present to his commander, had sold some of the whiskey to the men and traded the rest to the Indians, and, besides, had squandered the flour, pork, and other meat which was to have succored the others in the party. Without Pike's supervision, this had taken place while the rest of the expedition was shivering with cold and by strict economy living on two pounds of frozen venison a day.

Here again, Pike was the mainspring of the expedition. He was not only the commanding officer, but also a hunter when the others failed from fatigue or lack of skill, a spy to protect his men in a hostile land, and a guide in an unknown country. Sometimes in front, other times in the rear, he was frequently scouting ten or fifteen miles in advance of his party. Often at night he was scarcely able to write his notes intelligibly because of extreme fatigue. Yet he found time to keep a daily journal and record all the data required by his instructions. He brought the British traders to accept American sovereignty and, most important of all, established peace between the Chippeways and Sioux.

Scarcely had the party arrived in St. Louis on April 30, 1806, when General Wilkinson had a new project for the indomitable explorer—the second and more important of his tours, the Arkansas journey. Just what were all the motives of Wilkinson for sending Pike on this trip have never been completely determined. From the instructions which he gave Pike in June, the undertaking was to be one of exploration and conciliation of the Indian tribes in the newly acquired Louisiana territory, to make geographical observations, and to determine the courses of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

Since Wilkinson was intriguing with both Spain and Aaron Burr some scholars have suggested that when he promoted Pike's expedition he was not solely interested in scientific exploration but may have desired to promote other schemes. He may have desired to find a practical route to Santa Fe to encourage the fur trade, to spy out the Spanish possession and military strength since Spanish and American relations were strained at the time, or even to facilitate the nefarious schemes of Burr. However, if any of these motives moved Wilkinson, they remained unknown to Pike. Nevertheless, he had to defend himself from public suspicion when he returned since he was Wilkinson's protégé and under his orders and not those of the secretary of war.

Despite this slight cloud, the expedition to the Arkansas has seldom been surpassed in American history for fortitude and daring. With few provisions and inadequate clothing, Pike and twenty-two men set out from St. Louis by boat, July 15, 1806 to challenge the mountains to the west.

Returning some Osage captives to their homes and making peace between the Osages and Pawnees, he ascended the Missouri and Osage rivers and dispatched a few men under Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, the son of the general, to descend the Arkansas. He and the remaining group began their ascent of the river as far as Pueblo. From here he made the excursion that resulted in the discovery and his unsuccessful ascension of Pike's peak in midwinter.

Clad only in cotton clothing and going often for days without food, only the loyalty and devotion of the tiny band to their seemingly indefatigable leader kept them alive and moving. In the midst of these difficulties, he investigated the sources of the Arkansas but mistook one of the main forks of that river for the headwaters of the Red river.

This supposition carried him into the icy slopes of the Sangre de Cristo range in mid-January. Emaciated and freezing, the party labored up the snowfields through the Sand Hill pass and into the San Luis valley with some of the men frozen and crippled for life. Others had been left behind in the mountains when they could go no farther. To rescue these and give all some necessary rest, he built a stockade

on what he believed to be the Red river. Unfortunately for his later relations with the Spanish government, the fort was built on Spanish soil.

Here again conjecture enters, questioning the wisdom of Pike in his indomitable pressing on to the west. Why he continued to the mountains when there were still a few buffalo on the plains and only intense cold, no game, and unknown terrain facing him in the mountains has long remained a mystery. If more reasons than scientific research urged his impetuosity, his journal gives no direct hint of them.

Moreover, after establishing the stockade, Doctor John H. Robinson, a physician attached to the party and Pike's closest companion, set off for Santa Fe, supposedly to collect a debt owed a Missouri fur trader. Meanwhile the party remained at the stockade ostensibly preparing to descend the river and return to the settlements. Soon after Robinson's departure, a detachment of Spanish troops forced Pike to accompany them to Santa Fe to explain his intrusion on the frontier.

Leaving two to rescue those remaining in the mountains, he and his men departed February 26, 1807, as quasi-prisoners on the third journey which Pike called his Mexican tour. Always under guard, they were conducted down the Rio Grande from Santa Fe to Chihuahua via a circular southern route to San Antonio and thence across to Natchitoches in Louisiana.

With Pike clad in a pair of blue trousers, moccasins, blanket coat, and a red cap lined with fox skins, and his men in buckskin, the party made a dauntless but poverty-stricken appearance before the Spanish governor at Santa Fe. Despite his protests, Pike was deprived of his journal covering the entire trip from St. Louis. However, he rejoined Doctor Robinson but being fearful of jeopardizing the latter, he pretended at first not to know him and denied that he was a member of the party. Reassured by the generosity of their captors, they soon forgot this pretense and made the return journey together.

Free of any loyalty to the Spanish government, Pike felt it entirely within his province to comment on the manners

and morals of New Spain. Under constant surveillance and forbidden to make notes on the country, he nevertheless continued to make observations by stealth. Caching his journals in the muzzles of the guns of his men, he made use of his keen eyes and retentive memory for future use by his countrymen.

After arriving in Natchitoches, July 1, he began his unsuccessful attempt to secure not only an appropriation for his men who had sacrificed their future by the loss of their health on the expedition but also freedom for a few Americans who had been captured in 1801 and were still prisoners of the Spaniards. In the meantime, he was also concerned with the publication of his jumbled notes, journals, maps, tables of statistics, and dissertations in a book which would immortalize his name. Chaotic organization and a matter-of-fact style led editors to despair. Pike was essentially a soldier and not to be interrupted by literary questions.

A rapid series of promotions following his station in New Orleans found him a colonel in July 1812. At the outbreak of the war, probably no officer in the army was more highly regarded. His bravery, dignity, and stern discipline on his explorations had made him a popular hero and had created a great loyalty among his men. While his promotion to brigadier general was waiting confirmation by the senate, he led a successful assault upon the British post at Fort York, now Toronto, and fell mortally wounded, April 27, 1813. Granted his supreme desire, to give his life for his country, he died, like Wolfe, with his head on a British flag.

His most important expedition had blazed one of the trails of the forty-niners and the emigrant trains. Besides popular veneration, the only honor conferred by the nation was the naming of the great white peak he discovered on his exhausting drive toward the west.

MISSOURI MINIATURES

ROBERT SOMERS BROOKINGS

Seventeen-year-old Robert Somers Brookings arrived in St. Louis in 1867 and accepted a \$25-a-month job as receiving clerk in the Samuel Cupples woodware plant. In less than a

decade, he had become the driving force in the company which was then dominating the trade.

Born January 22, 1850, in Cecil county, Maryland, Brookings enrolled in West Nottingham academy but left for St. Louis late in 1866 before completing his course. In 1868 as salesman for the Cupples firm, he covered the entire territory west of the Mississippi. At 21, he became a partner in Cupples and company, but was on the road ten years before settling down in St. Louis, a young man with a fortune which he turned to philanthropies. After travels abroad, he turned his attention to music, serving as president of the St. Louis choral society.

He designed the central depot and track facilities at Cupples station for his and other firms to remedy the problem of terminal facilities. In 1895 he centered his attention on Washington university, then at a critical stage. With his aid, a new site across from Forest park was obtained. He gave his own money and secured donations from others for new buildings, new faculty members were called, and a renascent university moved in about 1905. Brookings and Samuel Cupples donated to the university Cupples station, about a \$3,000,000 gift. A report on medical education in the nation spurred him to reorganize the medical department of Washington and to create its fine medical center. All together he gave an estimated \$5,000,000 to the university.

In 1916 he helped to establish the institute of government research in Washington, designed to work in behalf of a national budget, and later the institute of economic research. Brookings established a graduate school in Washington, affiliated with Washington university and connected with the two earlier institutes. In 1927 these became the Brookings institution.

In 1917 Brookings was appointed to the war industries board, later heading the price-fixing division. Congress voted him the distinguished service medal; France and Italy decorated him; he became a board member of the Smithsonian institution; Yale gave him an M.A. degree; Harvard, the University of Missouri, and Washington honored him with

LL.D. degrees; and Washington university awarded him an honorary M.D. degree. After more than thirty years he resigned as president of the Washington university board and a year later withdrew as chairman of the board of the Brookings institution. He died in Washington November 15, 1932.

[Sources for data on the life of Robert Somers Brookings are: Hagedorn, Hermann, *Brookings, A Biography*, (1936); *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 16, 1932.]

JAMES GAY BUTLER

James Gay Butler, a leading Missouri philanthropist of his day, made a fortune in tobacco and when he retired, announced that he intended to give away his entire annual income. Through the influence of Doctor Samuel J. Niccolls, a St. Louis minister, Butler became a director of Lindenwood college at St. Charles, and to it he and Mrs. Butler gave money and properties which will in time approximate nearly \$4,000,000. Butler's money provided for four halls at the college. Mrs. Butler after his death continued to give to Lindenwood and bequeathed at her death more than \$2,000,000.

To the St. Louis Y. W. C. A. and to Westminster college at Fulton Butler gave approximately \$20,000 each. He was president of the Missouri association for the blind and gave time and money to the Saturday and Sunday hospital fund and to the St. Louis Provident association which he served as president. He organized the Industrial Loan company, the "poor man's bank," offering loans with only note security to wage earners to keep them away from loan sharks. He was also active in the drive to rid St. Louis of its smoke nuisance.

James Gay Butler, born in Sangatuck, Michigan, January 23, 1840, was educated in Connecticut and Michigan. The outbreak of the Civil war prevented his graduation his senior year, 1861, from the University of Michigan which forty-three years later gave him a bachelor of science degree. He entered the Union army as a private and in four years rose to the rank of colonel. After the war he lived in St. Louis and entered the tobacco business. He later merged with the

American tobacco company and became a director in that company.

At the time of his death, August 22, 1916, Butler was a director in the Mercantile Trust company and the Mercantile National bank of St. Louis and chairman of Lindenwood college board of directors. He also served as director of the Louisiana purchase exposition.

[Sources for data on the life of James Gay Butler are: *Book of St. Louisans* (1912); *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 22, 1916.]

RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer. By Mark Twain [*pseud.*]. (Hartford, Chicago, [etc.], published by the American Publishing company, 1878. 275 pp.)

In the year 1835, Haley's Comet made it's appearance in the sky. The same year a boy was born in a Missouri village named Florida, a village so small that it is doubtful if the Heavenly visitor paid much attention to it. Yet that comet is chiefly remembered because of the baby. The baby grew up and said that he came in with the comet and he would go out with it. Of course it was just another joke, but the comet came back in 1910, and on April twenty-first of that year, Mark Twain died.

He lived through one of the most interesting periods of American history, and in his humorously informative way he wrote about what he saw. He also lectured and wrote unforgettable stories, and the result was that, though he lost all of his money at one time, he paid all of his debts and died worth several hundred thousand dollars, which is enough to discourage even an optimistic wolf from parking at a door.

He knew the Mississippi in its days of grandeur. He knew it as the youthful "Tom Sawyer," who lived but a couple of blocks from it's banks, and he knew it as the glorified pilot who was the supreme potentate of the steam boat world. He wrote *Life on the Mississippi* from these experiences. *Roughing It* told of his days in the west. *Innocent's Abroad*, *Following the Equator*, and other books were of far away lands. In 1876 he wrote a book about a boy that might have been



By William A. Knox

called "Missouri Folks in the Forties." He remembered his own boyhood in the little town of Hannibal. From those ante-bellum, boyhood memories of island and river, hill and cave, school days, slave days, catfish and steamboats he wove *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

Books are curious things. They are much like human beings. Some live for a day, some clutter up the world longer. Some are a sensation for a time and soon forgotten, while others are as long lived as Methuselah. We could go into the matter of filth and filigree, dirt and diamonds, but not in the space allowed. When I was a boy the books of Henty and Alger so filled the library shelves that seldom read dust catchers were relegated to the basement to give them room. To-day they are practically listed with the dinosaurs. But *Tom Sawyer*, a story of a boy in the backwoods, slave-owning, river town of Hannibal, Missouri, keeps right on being listed year after year among the best sellers.

Year after year new editions roll off of the presses. I doubt if any one can list them all, for Mark Twain's works have been published in many languages. Forty-five different editions of his works have been printed in Russia alone. In the spring issue of the *Dolphin* in 1941 there was an article about the illustrators of some of the "Tom Sawyers." True Williams illustrated the famous first edition for the American publishing company in 1876. First editions are rare and in good condition are almost as valuable as a handful of diamonds. The next illustrating seems to have been done by Worth Brihm for Harper about 1910. In 1930 Donald McKay furnished the pictures for a twenty dollar deluxe edition. Norman Rockwell, whose "Four Freedoms" are now being used by the government for bond sales, painted the pictures for the Heritage press in 1936. These original paintings, together with the eight "Huck Finn" paintings made for a companion book, are on exhibition in the Mark Twain museum at Hannibal.

The Limited Edition's club of New York also issued a *Tom Sawyer*. This, as well as a *Huck Finn*, was limited to fifteen hundred copies for the membership. Both are illustrated by the famous Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton,

and are numbered and autographed by him. *Tom Sawyer* was originally listed to the membership at ten dollars, but available copies are scarce, and the price, if you can get one, now seems to have risen to fifteen dollars.

Peter Hurd illustrated the Winston edition, and in 1933 Richard Rogers did the drawings for the Illustrated Edition's company's *Tom*. In 1936 George Carlson furnished the pictures for Noble and Noble. There have been other "Tom Sawyer's" published in the United States but these seem to be the outstanding ones. In an Italian edition called *LeAvventure Di Tom Sawyer*, Tom wears a striped smock and a large hat with a feather in it; Becky looks like a chorus girl, a dog drinks the white wash, and the houses and fence are of old Italy. For once, Tom Sawyer is cosmopolitan.

Three times at least, Tom Sawyer has strutted across the silver screen, without counting his appearance with Mickey Rooney as Huck Finn, or as the star of *Tom Sawyer, Detective*. The story does not make an effective stage play for the legitimate theatre, but back in the nineties, when the "10-20-30" repertoire companies played the opera house for a week, featuring such favorites as *The Count of Monte Cristo*, *East Lynne* and that tear jerker *Camille*, the management often presented at the children's Saturday matinee such tried and true successes as *Tom Sawyer*, *Peck's Bad Boy* and *Little Lord Founilleroy*.

The story of *Tom Sawyer* was not all written at one time. Mark Twain would write awhile, run out of ideas and come back to it again. He needed a location or a description for his village of St. Petersburg, and no place had better natural scenery or a better setting than the town of his boyhood. Hannibal was on the Mississippi. It was surrounded by hills and woods on three sides. There was a cave where the boys and girls actually played. Not a hole in the wall, but a cave with miles of passages. There were islands, and during the June rise, water spread over the free state of Illinois, just across the river from Hannibal, for a distance of ten to twelve miles.

Of course Hannibal grew while he was there, and he learned the printer's trade in a three-story brick building

which still stands, but when Sammy Clemens came to Hannibal in 1839 it was so small that the first church was being built. We have this information from a letter written by the Reverend Joshua Tucker, the first regular pastor of that little Presbyterian church which the Clemens family attended. The corner stone of this church, which was the first organized and built in Hannibal, was laid in 1839. Tucker began his ministry in October 1840. He found four good brick walls, a roof, windows, and the inside plastered, but the builders had forgotten to add a chimney. Services were held but the congregation sat on logs, stools, boards, and boxes. Tucker preached from a platform consisting of two planks laid across two saw horses. One board was more springy than the other, and as his preaching was of the unwritten but hell and damnation type of oratory, it was necessary to keep a level footing as well as a level head.

The officers gave Tucker permission to have the church furnished, which he did. He also furnished the steeple with a real bell which he bought on the St. Louis levee from the junk of a wrecked steamboat. Perhaps if Sam Clemens had known it was a steamboat bell that was calling him to Sunday school and church, he might have liked them better.

Mark Twain used for his characters people he knew. His mother, presented with a new dialect, became Aunt Polly. His brother Henry became Sid. Becky Thatcher was Laura Hawkins who lived across the street. Tom Blankenship, who lived at the other end of the alley back of Sam's home, became Huck Finn.

Just a block north of the Clemens' home was Holliday's Hill, which became the Cardiff Hill of *Tom Sawyer*, and which to-day furnishes the Missouri approach for the Mark Twain bridge. Mark Twain played over this hill, and even on his last trip to Hannibal, he and John Briggs, the Joe Harper of the book, climbed to the top and enjoyed once more its miles and miles of scenery while they talked of old times.

The Widow Holliday owned this hill and lived on the very top of it. She was the richest widow in the village and easily stepped into the roll of the Widow Douglass. She liked young people and gave wonderful parties, and even when

an old woman, she could still play the pieces on the piano she loved as a girl. She did not own Nigger Jim who in reality was an old negro living in Florida, on the farm where little Sammy Clemens visited every summer. But the "Widow Holliday" did own slaves. When my mother was a girl and with her friends climbed the hill on Sunday afternoon excursions, they always stopped at a little picket fence-inclosed spot in Mrs. Holliday's garden back of her home where one of her favorite slaves was buried. The Widow Holliday was eccentric. She gave my grandmother a set of dishes when she married but got mad at her a few days later and took them all home again.

War came and the Widow Holliday lost her property, and from that time on lived among her friends, spending a few days with one and then going to another. She always wore the fine dresses she had owned in her wealthy days. They were of course long, and the sidewalks and streets were dusty and dirty or muddy, but the Widow Douglass, as she is known to literary fame, never lifted them or cleaned them. They might be caked with mud to the knees, but she never seemed to notice it. Her friends would have to clean her up about once a week. One day she went to visit Mary Bowen, who was then Mrs. Moses P. Green, and who lived in the house now occupied by the Women's club. She was a sister of the Bowen boys, who were chums of Mark Twain. No one was home when the Widow Douglass arrived, but she knew she was welcome, and she opened the door and went in. It was a terrible day in winter and the snow was blowing and the wind shrieking. When the Greens arrived sometime later, they found the windows up, the snow blowing across the beautiful carpets, and the Widow Douglass crouching behind the stove, a screaming, raving maniac.

Mark Twain's boyhood friends and the boys who made up the Tom Sawyer gang were average boys with more than the average boy's ambition. George Butler, kin to the famous general, became a Union officer and later United States consul to Egypt. Will Pitts became a banker and merchant and his brother a Confederate officer and treasurer of the state of Missouri, Sid Haynes became adjutant general of Colorado before it became a state, and Bob Bodine went to Congress.

A. H. Levering gave Hannibal a fine hospital, and Helen Kerchival Garth, a friend of Mark Twain's boyhood, gave a library to the city in memory of her husband, John Garth, also a boyhood friend. The last two were not members of the gang, but close friends. We have not time to mention others with the exception of the Bowen boys.

There were four Bowen boys and all became pilots on the Mississippi. Will and Sam Bowen were members of the gang. The others were older. Bart Bowen's health was wrecked by escaping steam during a boat wreck, and he came back to Hannibal to die. Mark Twain sent his widow a copy of *Innocent's Abroad* and a note written on his wife's stationery. Both are in the museum at Hannibal.

Mark Twain wrote a letter to Will Bowen a few days after his marriage. It is flooded with Hannibal memories, and it is an easy matter to recognize many incidents later used in *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. The Bowens were cultured people. Mrs. Bowen was the daughter of the Reverend Barton S. Stone, one of the co-founders of the Christian church and an organizer of colleges. At least two biographies of his life have appeared in the past ten years. He died in the same house where little Sammy Clemens climbed in bed with Will Bowen to get the measles and have an excuse to stay home from school. The result was that it was almost all he could do to stay home from Heaven. The Reverend Mr. Stone's widow lived in the Bowen home for many years, and Mark Twain may have gained some of his information about camp meetings from her because she often told about the ones her husband held in Kentucky when sometimes twenty thousand people would be gathered together.

Captain Bowen, the father, was well to do, distinguished, and had traveled to France, where it was said he had taken a high degree in Masonry. Like many of the village folks of that time, however, he had his eccentricities. At least they would be considered so in this day, for he was followed about the streets of Hannibal by two boon companions, a yellow sow and a goose. When he started from his home on Front street, facing the levee, they followed him. When he stepped into a

store, they waited outside, and when he came out and passed on, they followed after.

In the Bowen library was a bound volume of a children's magazine. Little Sammy Clemens was a daily visitor, and I have wondered if that little volume did not make an impression on him, because it is filled with good little boys and girls who want to go to heaven at the first opportunity, or go swimming on Sunday, with the funeral on Tuesday, or eat slate pencils and die. In fact there are pages and pages of the saddest, most doleful and sorrowful stories it is possible to conceive. This too, is in the museum.

In those far off Missouri days when Mark Twain was storing his mind with the knowledge he was later to use in his stories, he absorbed the curious language, superstitions and stories of the negroes. His father owned slaves, he played with slaves, and they saved his life from the waters of Bear creek on at least two occasions. He did not use this knowledge in *Tom Sawyer* as much as in *Huck Finn*, where he made of Nigger Jim one of the most lovable characters of fiction. Nevertheless the superstitions, signs, and warnings he learned in the cabins of his uncle's slaves and from the negroes he played with he made a part of Tom Sawyer's character, and the pages of the Tom and Huck stories are veritable encyclopedias of the curious beliefs of those early Missouri days, many of which are not even now eradicated in this age of marvels.

Mention is made several times of free negroes. In *Huck Finn* Jim wants to get to Cairo where he will be free. That is for the story's sake. He could have found his underground railway much nearer, if he had gone north to Quincy, for the abolitionists of Quincy and the slave owners of Marion county carried on a slave war for many years. The Widow Douglass freed Jim in the story, but to be a free negro in Hannibal was not the simple matter it sounds.

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer is the story of a Missouri boy living in a Missouri village nearly one hundred years ago. It was written 67 years ago. Mark Twain has been dead 33 years. Yet it is a book just as much alive to-day as the day it first came off the press, and to the little frame house in Hannibal, where Mark Twain lived during his "Tom Sawyer"

days, there came each year (before gas rationing) an average of seventy-five thousand people to visit the shrine of Missouri boyhood.—*Contributed by Morris Anderson,¹ Hannibal, Missouri.*

MISSOURI SCRAPBOOK

Here are a few items for your scrapbook that did not make the histories. Tid-bits always carry the most flavor. These are a between-meal snack.

Fools' gold—

A gentleman just returned to the western part of Missouri, from 'Pike's Peak' gold mines, says that three days exploration with the pick and spade, had enabled him to find some very small grains of gold, and several tons of exaggeration.—*Hannibal Tri-Weekly Messenger*, November 4, 1858.

Never too late to mend

The Stockton (Cedar county) *Tribune* says many a poor devil in that town has to tie himself to a woman, for the want of a tailor to mend his wardrobe. Somebody ought to take pity on the women and relieve them from the burden of the poor devils by sending a tailor there.—*Daily Missouri Republican*, December 24, 1868.

Grand opera!

Now that the season of parties and balls, is rapidly drawing near, we would announce that a new string band has recently been organized in this city, under the direct supervision of an experienced musician. Its selections are all first-class, consisting of "Put Me in My Little Bed," "Pop Goes the Weasel," and other operatic gems.—*Boonville Weekly Eagle*, December 20, 1872.

¹MORRIS ANDERSON, a native Missourian, was born in Hannibal, Missouri, in the same house in which he now lives. He received an LL.B. degree from the University of Missouri and has been city attorney and mayor of Hannibal and prosecuting attorney of Marion county. A widely known lecturer, he is the chairman of the Mark Twain Municipal board and a member of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Look before you leap!

About four months ago, a covered wagon passed through Boonville, having on its canvass the words, "Kansas or bust." The same rig returned ten days ago, bearing evident indications of having "busted."—*Macon Argus*, November 6, 1867

And cheap merchant's prices!

A country merchant who keeps a general assortment advertises among other things, 'Black men's gloves; plain lady's slippers, red children's stockings; and new children's books.'—*Missouri Whig*, July 16, 1842.

Just when our tires are wearing out—

Wagon for sale cheap.—*Hannibal Tri-Weekly Messenger*, September 22, 1858.

Were their faces red?

A heavy frost and ice in abundance on Wednesday morning last. It came just right to cool off the election excitement, and made defeated candidates feel as if they had rather be in a warmer place.—*Jasper County Democrat*, November 7, 1884.

The strong silent type—

It will be seen that while the bonnets of the ladies are perfectly elastic, sweetly nodding at every person they meet, as much as to say yes, yes, yes, in more charming rapidity than the tongue can pronounce, the gentlemen are becoming a stiff-necked generation, and . . . BOWS ARE EXPLODED.—*Missouri Intelligencer*, December 3, 1822.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from May through July 1943, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Winkelmaier, R. C., St. Louis

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Smith, Frederick M., Independence

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Balliett, Mrs. Carl A., University
City

Brown, R. L., Aurora

Dunnegan, Miss Olive, Bolivar

Rhinehart, Rupert L., Kirksville

Rozier, George A., Jefferson City

Scarrett, W. H., Kansas City

Singleton, Caroline, St. Louis

Tatman, B. L., St. Louis

ONE NEW MEMBER

Arnold, Mrs. Claude, Pittsburgh,
Pa.

Barnhill, F. C., Marshall

Carr, W. H., Lee's Summit

Clark, Judge Albert M., Richmond

Clay, G. Harry, Kansas City

Cochran, W. W., Washington, D. C.

Cortelyou, Nancy, Columbia

Dewey, C. E., Jefferson City

Eaves, J. L., Bonne Terre

Galbreath, R. B., Arlington, Va.

Goodwin, Cliff B., Marshall

Greene, A. P., Mexico

Ike, Carl B., West Plains

Johnson, Waldo P., Osceola

Keller, Mrs. J. O., Columbia

Kern, Karl Wilhelm, St. Louis

Knipmeyer, Gilbert, Jefferson City

Long, H. R., Columbia

McBride, H., Ferguson

McVay, Don C., Trenton

Meiners, Dr. Edwin, St. Louis

Muench, Max S., University City

Oliver, R. B., Jr., Cape Girardeau

Otto, Robert W., St. Louis

Porter, Pierre R., Kansas City

Reyburn, Thomas R., St. Louis

Rumsey, E. M., Kansas City

Sutherland, John H., Kirkwood

Wright, Robert R., Rolla

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

May-July 1943

Two hundred and seventeen applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from May to July 1943, inclusive. The total of annual membership as of July 31, 1943, is 3571.

The new members are:

- | | |
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| Agee, Dr. Purl M., Independence | Caleb, Nell, Kansas City |
| Allen, William H., Kansas City | Campbell, Dr. A. J., Sedalia |
| Allshouse, Dr. Harry, Kansas City | Chapman, E. F., Webster Groves |
| Aloe, Mrs. Louis P., St. Louis | Chase, L. A., Marquette, Mich. |
| Anderson, Roscoe, St. Louis | Childs, David B., Hickman Mills |
| Anderson, Mrs. Roscoe, Webster Groves | Clark, W. L. M., St. Louis |
| Anderson, W. P., Gideon | Clay, G. Harry, Kansas City |
| Arens, Richard, Jefferson City | Coffman, Catherine A., Newbury |
| Arnold, Claude, Puxico | Coleman, Frank B., St. Louis |
| Arnold, Wat, Kirksville | Cook, John Hutchinson, Trenton, N. J. |
| Barnett, Raymond G., Kansas City | Cook, Lewis H., Jefferson City |
| Barto, Harry G., Independence | Cook, Mrs. Sam B., Jefferson City |
| Beals, David T., Kansas City | Cookingham, L. B., Kansas City |
| Beimdick, A. O., Webster Groves | Cope, W. C., Crane |
| Beiser, Miss Delores, Bonne Terre | Cornwell, Lee, Independence |
| Bell, C. Jasper, Washington, D. C. | Crome, Mrs. C. A., Clinton |
| Benecke, R. W., Brunswick | Crosswhite, Capt. Chas. C., Fort Warren, Wyo. |
| Blackburn, Orville M., Afton | Croy, Homer, New York City |
| Blake, R. E., Webster Groves | Cunningham, Barclay W., Richmond Heights |
| Bohling, Judge Walter H., Jefferson City | Custer, Mildred S., Columbia |
| Boland, Mrs. John L., Kirkwood | Dalton, John M., Kennett |
| Boman, Mrs. Jess, Fairfax | Damran, C. P., Farmington |
| Boman, John H., Kansas City | Davis, Mrs. Gene V., Boonville |
| Brooks, Anne Tedlock, Jefferson City | Davis, Dr. Peter G., St. Louis |
| Brown, Omer E., Ozark | Deason, Leslie C., Hannibal |
| Brown, W. S., Carthage | Desloge, Joseph, Florissant, Life member |
| Bryan, Charles W., Jr., New York City | Dickmann, Bernhard F., St. Louis |
| Burkhardt, Theo. G., Jefferson City | Donnelly, John W., St. Louis |
| Burr, Henry, Kansas City | Sister M. Dorothea, St. Louis |
| Burris, Albert H., Florissant | Downes, Oliver D., Bourbon |
| Bussen, William E., St. Louis | Drake, E. W., Rocheport |
| Caldwell, Mrs. Sarah K., St. Louis | Dry, Morris E., New York City |

- Duensing, E. A., Jefferson City
 Elbring, Walter, St. Louis
 Ellison, Edward D., Kansas City
 Englehart, Melvin, Fredericktown
 Ewald, William B., Kirkwood
 Finnegan, James P., St. Louis
 Forgrave, Paul, St. Joseph
 Fullington, W. H., Coffey
 Funkhouser, Mrs. Claude, St. Joseph
 Gage, John Bailey, Kansas City
 Galatas, Rev. Clinton B., Fayette
 Galbreath, Paul, Kansas City
 Gambrel, Harry M., Kansas City
 Garnier, Joseph, St. Louis
 Garrison, Ray L., St. Louis
 Gifford, Dr. B. F., St. Joseph
 Gifford, Ward C., Kansas City
 Goetsch, F. A., St. Louis
 Gould, C. E., Kansas City
 Graves, Ludwick, Kansas City
 Greer, O. H., Kansas City
 Grupp, George V., Jr., St. Louis
 Gurman, Isaac, St. Louis
 Gwinup, M/Sgt. Dover L., Seattle, Wash.
 Hall, B. F., St. Louis
 Hall, Bertrand M., Kansas City
 Hanni, Otto, Troy
 Hardesty, Dr. John F., St. Louis
 Hardin, John C., Gainesville
 Hargis, Mrs. Amanda D., Springfield
 Harlan, W. M., Farmington
 Harris, Clyde D., Cape Girardeau
 Haskins, Mrs. G. D., Malden
 Hawes, P. H., Kansas City
 Hayward, Louis H., Ballwin
 Henderson, W. M., Bogard
 Horn, Theodore, Illmo
 Hotchkiss, Mrs. E. G., St. Louis
 Houchin, Herbert L., St. Louis
 Hudson, Harold J., Kansas City
 Huttig, Charles M., St. Louis
 Jefferson College, St. Louis
 Johnson, W. B., Kansas City
 Jones, Herbert V., Kansas City
 Jones, Kirk, DeSoto
 Julian, Vance, Clinton
 Keitel, E. J., Jefferson City
 Keller, W. B., Independence
 Kelly, Rev. Robert M., S. J., St. Louis
 Kirk, George W., Sikeston
 Koenig, Fred, St. Louis
 Konzelman, Mrs. Arthur, St. Louis County
 Kuhn, H. W., California
 Lamb, Dr. Harvey D., Webster Groves
 Lamy, Charles, Clayton
 Larson, J. P., Webster Groves
 Livengood, L. L., Maryville
 Loeb, Benjamin M., St. Louis
 Long, David, Kimmell, Ind.
 Lucy, Thos. Elmore, St. Louis
 McNatt, John Harding, Clayton
 McVay, Don C., Trenton
 Mackey, Orma E., Centralia
 Manlove, Joe J., Joplin
 Marr, P. M., Milan
 Marren, Rev. John W., St. Louis
 Mason, Miss Florence, Mexico
 Massey, George V., II, Dover, Del.
 Matthews, Mrs. Ralph B., San Francisco, Cal.
 May, Morton J., St. Louis
 Meacham, J. C., St. Louis
 Miller, Frances H., Silver Springs, Md.
 Mintrup, Lilian, Union
 Montgomery, John Z., Kansas City
 Moore, Rex H., Trenton
 Morrill, Charles H., St. Louis
 Morrison, J. C., Nevada
 Morse, David D., Kansas City, Kans.
 Mullett, Charles F., Columbia
 Myers, Mrs. Josephine, St. Louis
 Naeter, Fred, Cape Girardeau
 Nichols, J. C., Kansas City
 Nouss, Henry O., Ferguson
 Oliver, David R., St. Louis

- Opie, John T., Kansas City
 Perry, Lou H., Kirkwood
 Pershall, E. E., St. Louis
 Petts, Robert B., Warsaw
 Pettus, Thomas W., Clayton
 Pollinger, Lou, St. Louis
 Porter, Jesse L., Kansas City
 Porter, Joseph F., Jr., Kansas City
 Powell, Joe D., Kansas City
 Pratt, Edward I., Camp Crowder
 Prentis, Henning W., Jr., Lancaster, Pa.
 Prusch, Mrs. Nicholas H., San Francisco, Cal.
 Pyatt, Julian D., Trenton
 Redmond, Sidney R., St. Louis
 Reed, Robert G., Kansas City
 Rice, Mrs. Charles, St. Louis
 Richards, Mrs. Dona, St. Louis
 Richards, Mrs. Walter B., Kansas City
 Richter, W. M., North Kansas City
 Riley, James A., St. Louis
 Rinehart, John Sargent, Washington, D. C.
 Rinehart, Wilbur, Inglewood, Cal.
 Robinson, William T., LaPlata
 Sater, James E., Monett
 Sells, Bradley, Kansas City
 Senior High School, University City
 Shackelford, Dr. Horace H., St. Louis
 Sieck, Dr. Louis J., St. Louis
 Siedler, Charles J., Kimmswick
 Smith, Gladys Irwin, Cassville
 Smith, Harlie L., Fulton
 Smith, Louise Grant, Clayton
 Sparks, Mrs. Wilbur D., Washington, D. C.
 Stapleton, Loren C., Independence
 States, Mrs. J. H., Kansas City
 Stevens, E. McD., Clayton
 Stix, Ernest W., St. Louis
 Stripp, Douglas, Kansas City
 Symington, W. S., St. Louis
 Tee, O. C., Hamilton
 Tutt, Dr. A. M., Liberty
 Vieman, Ralph W., Bourbon
 Vrooman, John Black, Rolla
 Warren, W. D., Grain Valley
 Warrick, F. R., Jr., Hollywood, Cal.
 Watkins, J. Spencer, Lawson
 Weber, Mrs. Kossuth C., Farmington
 Wells, Mrs. W. A., Marshall
 Whitener, L. D., Fredericktown
 Widom, Carroll, Bowling Green
 Williamson, Gerald V., Kirkwood
 Wilson, Charles, St. Charles
 Wood, Martha May, Robertsville
 Worner, Lloyd E., Jr., Columbia
 Wright, Miss Etha A., Carthage
 Yoder, Mrs. Mae, Kansas City
 Ziegler, Charles V., Kansas City

ST. LOUIS IN FORMER YEARS

The leisurely spirit of St. Louis during the last century is crystallized for the reader in E. D. Kargau's *St. Louis in Former Years*, prepared in 1893 for the German element. The pervading atmosphere of the book is the charm of the growing city that had not yet achieved its dynamic and, to the author, feverish pace of development.

Doctor William G. Bek, dean of the college of science, literature, and arts of the University of North Dakota, has translated the monumental work which until now the medium of the language has limited to some extent. A manuscript

copy of the translation has been donated to the State Historical Society by Doctor. Bek.

The book is primarily the reminiscences of a man who had lived in St. Louis for thirty-three years and had accumulated an almost unbelievable fund of knowledge of the activities of individual St. Louisans, a knowledge which is particularly detailed in the survey of German interests. The translation, fortunately, retains the informal and rambling essay style of the original.

The reader strolls down one street after another, looks in on the bustle in shops and markets, sips the wares of one, sniffs the odors of another, laughs at old anecdotes, and watches the life of seventy years ago unroll before him. Especially entertaining are the deliberate enjoyment of living that was the daily rule of Frenchtown, and the gaiety and excitement that accompanied the musical concerts introducing foreign-born or native talent. The latter part of the volume is more nearly the conventional arrangement of the various mercantile concerns and industrial companies.

GREGG MANUSCRIPT

The Society has acquired from Frank Glenn of Kansas City, Missouri, a manuscript written by William H. Gregg. Gregg was a member of Quantrill's guerilla band from 1861 until the winter of 1864.

Gregg, an officer who sometimes served as the second in command, became disgusted with the personnel of the band in 1864, joined Shelby, and was made a captain in Shanks' Brigade. This manuscript deals solely with his experiences as a guerilla and covers the incidents and engagements in which he participated. Gregg dwells very little on the motivating factors of his comrades but his comments on the purpose of the Lawrence raid are valuable.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

New lights on facets of Missouri life are reflected in the most recent articles in the weekly historical features. River songs, Fourth of July celebrations, hearty eating and primitive drama on the frontier, the early peddler, and the his-

torical background of Missouri constitutional conventions are a few of those in the series. Those released during July, August, and September are as follows:

July: "The Fourth Was a Gala Day in Missouri a Century Ago," "Missouri Recasts the Mold of Her Fundamental Laws," "Benches and Candles Greeted Hardy Actors on Frontier," and "Point or Price no Problem to Pioneer Missouri Housewife."

August: "Two Cocked Pistols at Dawn—A Man's Honor At Stake," "River Songs of Missouri Echo Among the Coves Today," "'Red Schoolhouse' Brighter in Memory than in Fact," "Censors, Soldiers Hindered Missouri Civil War Press," and "'Swing Yore Partners—Promenade' Gave Early Youths Chance to Frolic."

September: "Pioneer Missourians Enjoyed 'Bees'—Made Work into Play," "Crude Furnishings in French and American Pioneer Homes," "Missouri Mounds Give Mute Reminders of Early Culture," and "Grange Meetings Gave Farmers an Interest Beyond Their Work."

GRADUATE THESES RELATING TO MISSOURI

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI GRADUATE THESES RELATING TO MISSOURI, 1941-1942

The master's theses accepted by Missouri university during 1941-1942 of interest to Missourians are as follows:

- Cornwell, Clifton, Jr., *Public Speaking in Missouri: 1870.*
 Crawford, Bill Thomas, *Ecological Succession in A Series of Stripmine Lakes in Central Missouri.*
 Embrey, Vincil Webb, *Extension Methods Involved in Teaching Farm People In Cooper County Live-At-Home Agriculture.*
 Kohler, Lucille Tremlet, *Neosho, Missouri, Under the Impact of Army Camp Construction: A Dynamic Situation.*
 Korando, Sidney, *The Use of Credit by 154 Farm Families, Lawrence County Missouri.*
 Leaver, Florence Bessie, *Public Speaking in Missouri, 1875-1879.*
 McHarg, Cynthia Wilkes, *An Investigation of Mark Twain's Views on War As Found in His Writings.*
 Powell, Dorothy Eleanor, *History of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, 1847-1883.*

- Quigley, Claude Merle, Jr., *Conodonts From the Sulamore Sandstone of Southwestern Missouri and Northwestern Arkansas.*
 Riley, Eula Gladys, *John Sappington, Doctor and Philanthropist.*
 Seymour, James Rychman, *Coagulation and Purification of Northern Missouri Surface Waters.*
 Strecker, Nadeene, *A Study of the Basal Metabolism of University of Missouri Women.*
 Waldram, Robert James, *Conodonts From the Cooper Limestone (Middle Devonian) of Missouri.*
 Winter, Francis Hauser, *A History of the Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Missouri, 1844-1855.*

The doctoral dissertations for the same period are as follows:

- Jensen, Elmer A., *A Study of High School Libraries and Library Services in the First Class High Schools of Missouri.*
 McClane, Charles Willard, *Educational Opportunities in Missouri Public and Non-Public High Schools.*
 Rogan, Clyde Harvey, *Financing School Buildings in Missouri.*
 Van Dyke, Lauren Andrew, *Interscholastic Contest Practices in Public High Schools in Missouri.*

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE THESES RELATING TO MISSOURI,
 1941-1942

The master's theses accepted by Washington university during 1941-1942 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

- Doben, Hymen Joseph, *Social Participation of Unmarried Governmental Employees at Jefferson City, Missouri.*
 Fulbright, Harry Wilks, *Contributions to the Construction of the Washington University Cyclotrom.*
 Halpern, Fayga Joy, *Social Participation of One Hundred Adult Persons in a Select Middle-Class Area of St. Louis.*
 Kidwell, Albert Laws, *The Igneous Geology of Ste. Genevieve County, Missouri.*
 McDermott, Florence Frances, *The Southwestern Railway Strike of 1886.*
 Parle, Grace, *History of the Missouri Dental College (The Dental Department of Washington University, 1892-1901), 1866-1901.*
 Rush, Florence, *Visual Education in the Elementary School.*
 Walker, Thomas Henry, *The Geology of the Northwest Quarter of the Ironton Quadrangle.*
 Williams, Cartus Rhey, *History of the Law Department of Washington University (The St. Louis Law School) 1867-1900.*

The doctoral dissertations for the same period are as follows:

- Deming, Frederick Lewis, *The Boatmen's National Bank, 1847-1941*.
 Forster, Walter Otto, *Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839-1847: A Study in the Origins of the Missouri Synod*.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY GRADUATE THESES RELATING TO MISSOURI,
 1941-1942

The master's theses accepted by St. Louis university during 1941-1942 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

- Ahrens, Mottie Elizabeth, *The Effectiveness of the Methodist Orphans' Home Association of St. Louis as a Child Caring Agency*.
 Baxmeyer, Charlotte Emily, *Health Knowledge of the Pupils of the St. Louis Public High Schools in the Fall of 1941*.
 Byrne, Leo Christopher, *The Social Attitude of St. Louis Catholic High School Students toward the Negro*.
 Daly, Mary Catherine, *Infant Mortality of Illegitimate Children in St. Louis, 1939*.
 Golden, Ceil Anne, *Applications for Care to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, St. Louis, Missouri, in 1940*.
 Haarman, Mary Maximina, *Analysis of the Food Costs of Firmin Desloge Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri*.
 Hanley, Lucy Elizabeth, *Lead Mining in the Mississippi Valley During the Colonial Period*.
 Joyce, Ruth Marie, *Child Placement Applications to Joint Intake Department of Catholic Charities, St. Louis, January 1, 1941, through June 30, 1941*.
 Karr, Rosemary Josephine, *Assistance to Unmarried Mothers, Social Security Commission, St. Louis, July 1, 1940 to December 31 1940*.
 Kohne, Alphonsa, *A Five Year Adjustment Study of Ursuline High School Graduates*.
 Ksycki, Walter Joseph, *The Missouri Fur Company, 1807-1832*.
 McGann, Leona Marie, *A Survey of the Facilities for the Care of Cerebral Palsy Patients in the State of Missouri*.
 Moran, John Anthony, *Causative Factors in Recidivism at the Alcoa Reformatory of Missouri*.
 Nelson, Marjorie Ann, *A Population Study of the Hessoun Bohemian Catholic Orphanage, Fenton, Missouri, 1941*.
 Powers, James Joseph, *Guidance Practice in St. Louis Catholic Secondary Schools for Boys, 1940-1941*.
 Zimmerman, Helen Margaret, *The St. Louis Board of Education Playground Program*.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The annual midsummer meeting of the Cole county historical society was held July 28 in Jefferson City. The more than one hundred members who attended were addressed by Mrs. May S. Hilburn on the visits of famous persons to Jefferson City. The Cole county court has granted permission to the society to use a room in the courthouse as a museum. The following officers were elected: Mrs. John W. Hobbs, president; Walter Steininger, first vice-president; John W. Giesecke, second vice-president; Chester A. Platt, third vice-president; Mrs. Frank Ramsey, recording secretary; Mrs. Clyde Fogle, treasurer; and Miss Virginia C. Mayo, corresponding secretary. The board of directors named is as follows: Judge Sherwood Wyatt, George Hope, Jr., Clifford H. Fisher, Mrs. Foster B. McHenry, Miss Idie Belch, and Mrs. Sam B. Cook.

The officers composing the executive committee of the Phelps county historical society met in Rolla, May 12, for a dinner and business meeting. The following persons were elected to honorary membership in the society: Mrs. Lucy Duncan of Newburg, a member of several of the oldest pioneer families in Missouri; Mr. and Mrs. Zina Watts of Rolla who have extensive family records pertaining to the surrounding area; and Mrs. Mabel M. Holmes for her research and writing on Ozark folklore. A committee was appointed to arrange for a "Service Flag" day which will be substituted for the regular annual "Pioneer Day" the society has usually held in July. Dr. C. V. Mann, historian, reported on the rare documents and other historic data which the society has acquired since last October.

The annual dinner meeting of the Historical association of Greater St. Louis was held at Webster college, May 14. Professor S. A. Johnson gave an address, entitled, "Learning from History."

ANNIVERSARIES

The *St. Joseph News-Press* published a centennial edition, July 25, commemorating the founding of St. Joseph. Historical articles, photographs, and drawings were included as well as a survey of present development. A civic birthday celebration has been postponed until after the war.

The St. Joseph First Methodist church observed the centennial with a three-day pageant, "March of the Years." The pageant, depicting the history of St. Joseph, was presented July 23, 24, and 25 in Krug park.

More than one thousand persons attended the centennial anniversary of the founding of the Second Baptist church in Liberty on May 2. Doctor Allen S. Cutts, pastor, reviewed in his sermon the history of the church which was organized May 2, 1843. The published history, issued for the anniversary, was prepared by A. M. Tutt who used the data accumulated by Professor R. P. Rider in 1908 and compiled the growth of the church since that date.

A three-day celebration was held to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the founding of the St. Francis Xavier Catholic church in St. Louis. A solemn high mass on May 7 was attended by the students of the St. Louis university. The Reverend Daniel A. Lord delivered the sermon. On May 8 a memorial mass was held for deceased pastors, parishioners, and benefactors of the church. A solemn high mass, with the Reverend Thomas M. Knapp as celebrant, was held on May 9. The Reverend Zacheus J. Maher delivered the sermon. The first St. Francis Xavier church was begun about 1840 and dedicated in 1843. The present building was constructed over a period of 23 years.

The Immanuel Methodist church of the Senate Grove community near New Haven celebrated its one hundred and first anniversary on May 31. At a special thanksgiving service Doctor F. W. Wahl of St. Louis and the Reverend Eugene

Goetz of Rosebud, Gasconade county, gave addresses. Since 1842 an annual camp meeting has been a stimulating influence in the religious activities of the church.

The *Boonville Advertiser* published July 30 an anniversary edition to celebrate the 103rd anniversary of the founding of the newspaper. The magazine was a rural life edition and dedicated to the farmers in the Boone's Lick area.

The seventieth anniversary of the death of the Reverend Peter J. DeSmet, S. J., famous Indian missionary of the West and Northwest, was observed May 23 with a special mass at St. Ferdinand's Catholic church, Florissant. After a pilgrimage led by Joseph Desloge to the grave in the Jesuit cemetery adjoining St. Stanislaus seminary, Leo Reid, chancellor of DeSmet council of the Knights of Columbus, held a short ceremony there.

The Guardian Angel parish of Oran, Scott county, celebrated with a solemn mass of thanksgiving the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization on April 28. An historical sketch was published describing the growth of the parish and the life of the Reverend Michael G. Helmbacher, the pastor for forty-six years.

The Jefferson City Sunday *Post-Tribune* issued a special edition, June 29, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Jefferson City chamber of commerce. The edition contained pictures of projects sponsored by the organization, its various presidents, biographical sketches, and feature stories of his history and activities.

A historical sketch of St. Barbara's Parish, St. Louis, was published on the fiftieth anniversary of its founding in May 1893. The history was prepared by the Reverend Bernard A. Timpe.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the St. Louis Municipal opera was celebrated by the compilation and publication of its history. Photographs of the audiences, stage sets, and famous stars are included with the text.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The five-thousand volume library of the late Doctor Glenn Frank has been given to the Northeast Missouri State Teachers college where he attended school. Plans are now under way for a Glenn Frank Memorial room to contain the collection which will be housed in the Pickler Memorial library.

On July 18 a memorial tablet was dedicated to Henry W. Kiel by the Municipal theater association of St. Louis. The tablet, executed by Gaetano Cecere of the school of fine arts of Washington university, is located over the box office of the Municipal opera amphitheater. The ceremony included selections by the Municipal opera orchestra which featured favorite numbers of Kiel who was founder and president for 22 years of the Municipal theater association.

In a ceremony held July 25 in the St. Joseph Central public library, a statue of "Little Boy Blue," a memorial to Eugene Field, was presented to the city by the Women's press club. The statue was designed by Mrs. Olga Chassaing of Chicago. Tracy E. Dale, superintendent of schools, gave the principal address. Purd B. Wright of Kansas City, former St. Joseph librarian, spoke of his acquaintance with both Eugene and Roswell Field in his early days as a newspaper reporter in St. Joseph.

On July 8, congressional action to establish the George Washington Carver national monument was completed. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to acquire the Negro scientist's birthplace, near Diamond, by gift or purchase for operation as a national monument under the National park service.

A memorial plaque in honor of Professor George W. Letterman, a distinguished naturalist and educator of the Meramec valley, was unveiled in the Rockwoods reservation in St. Louis county on May 28.

In honor of the late Justice Louis Demoritz Brandeis, United States supreme court, who first began the practice of law in St. Louis, a memorial brochure containing the proceedings of the court at the memorial meeting has been published and a copy donated to the State Historical Society.

NOTES

Preliminary information concerning the organization of the Missouri constitutional convention has been published in a manual for the delegates. It was planned by the state-wide committee for the revision of the Missouri constitution and was compiled and edited by Dr. Martin L. Faust of the department of political science of the University of Missouri. Besides this department of Missouri university, other groups who volunteered assistance in its preparation include St. Louis, Washington, and Kansas City universities, Rockhurst college of Kansas City, the Governmental research institute of St. Louis, the Civic research institute of Kansas City, the Bar association of Missouri, and the Judicial council. As a result of this cooperation, a sound foundation of factual research is available for the convention.

A pageant depicting the past of Kansas City from the arrival of Lewis and Clark to the Priests of Pallas parade, the fall festival, was given June 7 on the front veranda of the Kansas City museum. The pageant was written by Mrs. Mary Scott Crabbs, whose grandfather, John Campbell, came up the river from St. Louis to start a store and a freighting business to the Rocky mountains. The pageant was presented in order to raise sufficient funds to assure the maintenance of the museum for the remainder of the year.

Missouri schools throughout the State have participated in an historic pilgrimage of a brick from Independence hall in

Philadelphia. The brick toured the schools of the state to encourage the sale of war bonds. After the tour, it was placed on permanent display in the state historical museum in Jefferson City.

Among the annual Rosenwald fellowships were two awarded to Missourians, Professor James Brewton Berry, associate professor of sociology at the University of Missouri, and Pauline Dingle Knobbs, instructor of social science education at the Northeast Missouri State Teachers college, Kirksville. Dr. Berry received the fellowship for a study of the "Brass Ankles" of South Carolina, and Mrs. Knobbs was accorded the award for an analysis of the dual education system in the Southern states.

Dorothy Marie Ziegler of St. Louis was awarded a fellowship of \$1000 by Sigma Delta Epsilon, national organization of women in scientific research. Miss Ziegler will use the award to further her research at the Barnard skin and cancer hospital in St. Louis. New techniques comparing the harmless and malignant cells are being used to study changes in the top skin layer.

The Art museum of St. Louis opened a Missouri room, May 8, the latest in its series of American period interiors. It was reconstructed from material taken from the parlor of the Nicholas S. Burkhart house which is near New Franklin, Howard county and was built in 1832.

The National park service of the federal department of the interior is sponsoring a series of tours and lectures dealing primarily with local history of national importance. A half-hour talk is given at the Old Court House each Sunday afternoon by members of the interpretive staff. At the conclusion of the lecture each visitor is given a mimeographed guide sheet outlining the suggested tours about the city.

A history of the Kansas City stock yards was published in the May-June issue of the *Hereford Swine Journal*. The

data was taken from a manuscript compiled some years ago by "old timers" then living who remembered the incidents and the men who made livestock history in the great southwest.

Arthur M. Hyde, governor of Missouri from 1921 to 1925, has deposited with the Western Americana collection of the University of Missouri the papers he collected during his term of office.

James M. Mohler has donated to the Society a manuscript copy of "Fifty Years with the Barton County Mutual" which he wrote.

The thirtieth annual exhibit of paintings and sculpture by St. Louis artists was held on May 3 under the auspices of the St. Louis Artists' guild.

The program of the tree dedication exercises held in memory of Samuel M. Jordan on the campus of the University of Missouri on November 10, 1942, has been published in pamphlet form.

A short sketch, entitled "The Romance of Chouteau's Pond, St. Louis, Missouri," has been compiled by McCune Gill and Isaac A. Hedges.

A copy of a reprint of the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette*, October 4, 1809, has been donated to the Society by Mrs. C. L. Grant of Jackson.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Year of Decision: 1846. By Bernard DeVoto. (Boston, Little, Brown and company, 1943. 538 pp.) At the opening of this book, America was primarily a territory east of the Mississippi and the bulk of the population was just beginning to be entranced by the great American dream of the continental empire that was established by the closing pages of the book. The shades of federalism quaver and fall in the

meantime. While events of such national importance as the outbreak of war with Mexico, the California and Oregon immigrations, and the conquest of the Southwest occur, miniatures of little groups retain distinct identity. Many items of Missouriana appear on both the major and minor stages.

Mark Twain: Man and Legend. By DeLancy Ferguson. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill company, 1943. 352 pp.) Despite the multitude of studies of Mark Twain's genius, there always seems to be room for one more. Although it does not contain as much intense psychological investigations and social orientation of the man as do some other studies, it delves into both his life and the development of his art. While it was the author's purpose to ignore Mark Twain's life except where it pertained directly to his literary interests, the volcanic nature of the material creeps insidiously over the literary criticism. The reader who ordinarily shuns biography for romantic fiction will, nevertheless, find here the Mark Twain to know and treasure. The scholarly investigation that underlays the result is so well hidden as to reveal Twain's own charm.

Atlas of American History. Edited by James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman. (New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 1943. 360 pp.) This *Atlas*, prepared with the assistance of an advisory council familiar with the area and period shown, is a useful supplement to a knowledge of what happened by showing where it happened. The series of maps, depicting all phases of discovery, exploration, and settlement, show careful editorial planning and supervision in the completeness of the presented picture. Many of the plates are of interest to Missouri historians but it is doubtful if there is a field in American history in which this book would not prove helpful.

The Discovery of Freedom, Man's Struggle Against Authority. By Rose Wilder Lane. (New York, The John Day company, 1943. 262 pp.) Mrs. Lane, who is better known for her novels dealing with Missouri and other mid-western

life, here turns her mind on philosophy, the nature of man and his relation with the world resources. She traces the present world struggle through the various earlier conflicts to the American revolution which drove the opening wedge for American ideals into the minds of the rest of the world.

Caesars of the Wilderness: Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710. By Grace Lee Nute. Illustrated. (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century company, inc., 1943. 386 pp.) The story of two dissatisfied residents of New France and the expansion of British merchant capitalism into the Hudson Bay region is presented in this authoritative work. Besides the northward extension, with its resultant rivalry between France and England, a rich variety of topics are covered including the intrigues among the French religious orders in New France. A decade or more of research is behind this volume and all the problems—religious, political, economic, diplomatic, and biographical—have been brought to a successful conclusion. The footnotes, appendixes, and bibliography greatly enhance the value of the work.

George Washington Carver, An American Biography. By Rackham Holt. Illustrated. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday Doran and company, inc., 1943. 342 pp.) Approaching the great scientist with a reverence due as much to his character as to his achievements, Mrs. Holt draws a picture of an American saint who dedicated his labors for the benefit of the poor farmer, white or black. The interracial strife and the difficulties he confronted in raising the negro farmer from peonage amid white antagonisms and negro ineptitude are both touched upon. However, the biography is less a critical evaluation of the man in his time than an evocation of the man alone in his laboratory working for the betterment of man.

Indian Villages of the Illinois Country. Vol. II, Scientific Papers, Illinois State Museum. Part I, Atlas. Compiled by Sara Jones Tucker. (Springfield, Illinois, State of Illinois,

1942. 17 pp. LIV plates.) This is the first of two volumes relating to the early days of contact between the Indians and whites in the Illinois area. The second part of the series will contain a more complete discussion of the data which the maps indicate. Heretofore a comprehensive survey of the history, movements, and locations of various Indian tribes has not been compiled although some material is scattered in other works. Part I is a carefully prepared selection from the maps which were used to compile the second volume. Preceding the plates is a section, "Notes on the Maps," which states as completely as possible the name of the author of the map, the date of its making, the knowledge which the author had of the subject and his role in the events of the period. Many of the maps presented here will be used by any student investigating the area. The volume also contains much locational information about Indian tribes and is consequently of great value for the specialist.

Joseph Schafer, Student of Agriculture. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1942. 67 pp.) Joseph Schafer, the superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin from 1920 to 1940, expanded the Society's activities in historical research by his meticulous approach to the study of history. He prepared studies concerning the history of Oregon, Wisconsin, American agriculture, various aspects of Wisconsin history, and numerous biographies. Interested primarily in social and economic history and particularly in that of agriculture, he offered a strong stimulus to midwestern historical investigations. The pamphlet includes a bibliography of his writings.

Digest of Laws of Missouri, 1939, Pertaining to County Offices and Functions of County Government. Prepared and compiled by Forrest Smith. (Jefferson City, Missouri, Mid-State Printing company, [1943]. 190 pp.) This pamphlet is a compilation of all the laws of the State which are contained in the revised statutes of 1939 and the laws passed in 1941 pertaining to the offices of the counties and regulating the

activities of the officials. As such it will be indispensable for county officials as an available and convenient handbook concerning their legal obligations and prerogatives.

OBITUARIES

MRS. CHARLES CHANNING ALLEN: Born in Leavenworth, Kans., Oct. 20, 1872; died in Kansas City, Mo., March 17, 1943. She helped found the Dames of the Loyal Legion for Missouri and was a member of the national Society of Colonial Dames, Daughters of the American Revolution, the national Society of the Daughters of 1812, and a representative on the U. S. Constitutional sesquicentennial commission. She bequeathed a library and scholarship fund to the University of Kansas City.

WILLIAM DEE BECKER: Born in East St. Louis, Ill., Oct. 23, 1876; died in St. Louis, Mo., August 1, 1943. He graduated from Harvard university, received his LL.B. from Washington university, and was admitted to the bar in 1901. After fifteen years of legal practice he was elected to the St. Louis court of appeals in 1916 and re-elected in 1928, each term covering twelve years. In 1941 he was elected mayor of St. Louis as a reform candidate. Among his achievements are the ward redistricting bill, fair traffic law enforcement, traffic safety measures, and the organization of the office of civilian defense.

THOMAS N. DYSART: Born in Randolph county, Mo., Sept. 2, 1880; died in St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 1, 1943. After attending Missouri university for two years, he graduated from Washington university school of law in 1903. After two years of law practice in Macon, he entered investment banking in St. Louis in 1905 and continued until 1934. Besides many directorships in civic organizations, he directed organization of Liberty loan campaigns, 1917-8, was president of the Investment bankers of America, 1925-26, served as chairman of Missouri state council of defense industry committee, was both president and director of numerous com-

mercial corporations, and president of the St. Louis chamber of commerce since 1934. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

ARTHUR C. EVERHAM: Born in 1878; died in Kansas City, Mo., July 22, 1943. After many years as a well-known engineer and constructor in private life, he was appointed director of the public works department of Kansas City with the advent of the reform administration. He was influential in establishing the Grandview airport and he had planned an extended trafficways system that was interrupted by the war.

MRS. ALICE LUDWICK GRAVES: Born in Bates county, Mo., Dec. 30, 1866; died in Kansas City, Mo., June 29, 1943. She taught school before her marriage in 1892 to W. W. Graves, later a State supreme court justice. Mainly through her influence the Arrow Rock tavern was purchased, rehabilitated, and established as an historic shrine. She was chairman of the committee which secured the adoption of the hawthorne as the State flower. She served as a member of the board of managers for the School for the feeble-minded at Marshall from 1915-1919, and of the State board of charities and corrections from 1921-1924. She was active in the Daughters of the American Revolution, a member of the Colonial Dames, Daughters of 1812, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

ALBERT ROSS HILL: Born in Nova Scotia, Canada, Oct. 4, 1869; died in Kansas City, Mo., May 6, 1943. A well-known educator and civic leader, he graduated from Dalhousie university in 1892 and did graduate study in Cornell, Heidelberg, Berlin, and Strassburg. He taught in the Wisconsin state normal school, 1895-1897, was professor of philosophy in the university of Nebraska, 1898-1903, and professor and dean of education in Missouri university, 1903-1907. After one year as dean of arts and science in Cornell, he became president of Missouri university in 1908. With a faculty for developing young teachers, he also established the schools of education and journalism and expanded the college of agri-

culture and the Rolla school of mines. From 1921 to 1923 he directed Red Cross activities from Athens and Warsaw. Thereafter he became president of the Ward investment company in Kansas City and served until 1938. He ran for mayor of Kansas City in 1934 but was defeated because of vote frauds. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JOHN G. HUGHES: Born in Bevier, Mo., Dec. 3, 1877; died in Kansas City, Mo., June 20, 1943. A former country banker, he was elected treasurer in 1919, vice-president in 1920, and president in 1921 of the Missouri Bankers association. In 1921 he was appointed state commissioner of finance and in 1922 moved to Kansas City to become vice-president of the Continental National bank and trust company, Commerce Trust company, and Farm and Home savings and loan association. He reorganized the Long-Bell lumber company as a special representative of the federal court and was appointed by a federal judge as custodian of impounded funds in the Panhandle-Eastern gas rate litigation. He was elected city auditor of Kansas City in 1942. He was a member of the State Historical Society.

ALBERT E. HUTCHINGS: Born in 1873; died in Kansas City, Mo., June 24, 1943. Widely known civic leader, he was chairman of the first city manager charter commission, promoted many civic improvement and slum clearance projects, helped organize the first mayor's Christmas tree association, and was active in business and social organizations.

WILLIAM C. IRWIN: Born in LaBelle, Mo., Oct. 18, 1870; died in Jefferson City, Mo., June 10, 1943. A lawyer, he began teaching school in 1888, was admitted to the bar later, and began practicing law. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Sullivan county in 1896 and served as chief clerk in the office of secretary of state from 1905-1909. He was a State representative from 1911-1913 and a State senator from 1921-1925. As a Republican, he participated in every political campaign in the last half century.

FREDERICK FOOTE JOHNSON: Born in 1866; died in Newton, Conn., May 9, 1943. Head of the Episcopal diocese of eastern Missouri until his retirement ten years ago, he was rector of a church in Redlands, California, and diocesan missionary in western Massachusetts before being consecrated as bishop in 1905. Bishop of South Dakota in 1909, he served as coadjutor for the Missouri diocese from 1911-1923 when he became bishop. He worked to promote fellowship between Episcopal and other denominations.

WILLIAM P. MANION: Born in St. Louis, Mo., in 1887; died in St. Louis, Mo., June 25, 1943. After attending St. Louis university he became a member of the Jesuit order in 1909 and was ordained in 1923. He taught in Rockhurst high school, 1916-18, served as dean of the college in 1927, and president from 1928-1933. Since that time he engaged in the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius in Missions and Retreats which took him throughout the Middle West.

WALTER E. McCOURT: Born in 1884; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 30, 1943. A geology professor, he served as head of the department of Washington university, dean of the schools of engineering and architecture from 1920-1928, twice as interim dean of the college of liberal arts, and assistant chancellor of the university at the time of his death.

MRS. THENIA BOLTON MCHENRY: Born in Cole county, Mo., Feb. 15, 1868; died in Jefferson City, May 19, 1943. One of the most widely known women in central Missouri, she became president of the Capitol City telephone company in 1937. She was a charter member of the Cole county historical society, a regent of the Daughters of American Colonies and the Daughters of the American Revolution, and a member of the Colonial Dames of America. During World war I she was Cole county administrator on the food and defense project. She was a member of the State Historical Society.

HARRY G. PARKER: Born in England in 1865; died in Kansas City, Mo., July 6, 1943. After graduating from Wil-

liam Jewell college in 1892, he received a Ph. D. degree from Harvard in 1900. From that year until 1928 he taught chemistry in William Jewell college. Due to a disagreement over his "modern" beliefs, he left in 1928 and became professor of chemistry and head of the department in Park college in 1930. He retired in 1942 and became professor emeritus. He also authored many unusual experiments and inventions.

WILLIAM B. ROBERTSON: Born in Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 8, 1893; died in St. Louis, Mo., August 1, 1943. After serving in the aviation branch of the army during World war I, he organized in 1920 the Robertson aircraft corporation of St. Louis and helped sponsor Charles A. Lindbergh's 1927 flight to Paris. In 1929 he surveyed and laid out the China national airways and in 1932 he participated in Turkey's aviation development program. As a major in the U. S. army reserve, he organized the 35th division air service of the Missouri national guard and the 110th observation squadron. He had served as director and president of numerous airplane companies, including Aviation Exportation, inc., Curtiss-Wright sales corporation, Curtiss-flying service, Aviation credit corporation, and the St. Louis Aircraft corporation.

PHIL R. STIVERS: Born in Winfield, Kans., June 19, 1898; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 21, 1943. A newspaper man and state representative, he was editor of the Wayne county *Journal* at Greenville, and the *Journal-Banner* at Piedmont from 1922-1925. He served as a state representative from 1925-1929.

HARRY WHALEY: Born in Lawrence county, Mo., May 18, 1876; died in Mt. Vernon, Mo., June 6, 1943. Former editor of the Lawrence county *Record* until its sale in 1942, he was mayor of Mt. Vernon for several terms and was holding that office at the time of his death. He served as county clerk from 1918-1926 and was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1927. An active Republican, he was chairman of the county committee three times.

CHARLES E. YEATER: Born in Osceola, Mo., April 24, 1861; died in Sedalia, Mo., July 20, 1943. A lawyer, he graduated from Missouri university in 1880, was admitted to the bar in that year, and began to practice law in Sedalia. He was elected city attorney of Sedalia in 1882, state senator in 1893 and served as a member of the board of curators of Missouri university from 1909-1915. He was appointed acting governor general of the Philippines in 1917, became governor general when Governor Harrison resigned, and served until 1921. Thereafter he traveled extensively in the United States and abroad.

CHARLES A. YOUNG: Born in Greencastle, Ky., in 1871; died in Jefferson City, Mo., May 8, 1943. After coming to Missouri as a young man, he was in the mercantile business and served as postmaster in Cadet. He was a member of the state legislature from 1921-1931, and was re-elected in 1942.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

MISSOURI AND MISSOURIANS

Review by Paul I. Wellman in the *Kansas City Star*, June 25, 1943.

It has been a considerable time since a first class history of Missouri has been brought out. The arrival, therefore, of the 5-volume "Missouri and Missourians," by Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, is an event for the state

"Missouri and Missourians" goes further than any previous work on the subject in a good many respects. It is, for example, the first history which attempts adequately to cover the social and economic as well as the political and military history of the state, from the beginnings to the present. Most histories confine themselves largely to the last two categories, politics and the military, with little attention or comprehension devoted to the even more important social and economic aspects, to which Mr. Shoemaker has devoted full consideration

A careful study is made of the early days of the state, including the explorations, pioneer settlements, Indian wars, first lead mining, and the Louisiana Purchase with its consequent spectacular effects.

One phase of the state's history which is given thorough coverage here is Missouri's status as the fountain-head of the fur trade in the early decades of the nineteenth century—a circumstance which caused the entire western continent to be explored from Missouri, with the eventual tide of immigration from here which gave to the state its title "Mother of the West."

Men like Manuel Lisa, the Chouteaus, William H. Ashley, the Sublettes, Jim Bridger, Joseph Robidoux, William Bent, Ceran St. Vrain—all of them Missourians—did more to explore the continent than all of the military expeditions of the government put together, with perhaps the single exception of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The Santa Fe trail from Missouri to the Spanish settlements of New Mexico was also an important factor.

Missouri in the Mexican and Civil wars receives important attention and there is a good study of that tragic era in which the Mormon troubles rent the state. The border troubles between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces furnished a bitter interlude, with, however, some amusing episodes, such as that modern evolution of the Biblical shibboleth test, when the Missourians posted themselves at the ferries, with a cow tethered near at each place. When a migrant arrived, if he referred to the creature as a "keow" it was presumed that he was a New Englander, and he was turned back. On the other side of the ferries were Kansans, with a bear tied at each point. If a visitor called the animal a "bar" he was spotted as a Southerner and turned back also. One wonders how anybody managed to penetrate into Kansas.

"Missouri and Missourians" also provides much detailed and authentic information on relatively recent developments. Accounts of the larger and more historic towns and cities, of the leading newspapers, of many organizations and movements are contained. Such varied subjects as wild life conservation, sports, recreational resources, industrial development are the subjects of expositions.

Throughout it is evident that a vast amount of research material has been used, not only of published works, but of graduate studies, manuscript collections and data obtained from interviews and other sources.

The modern history of Missouri is presented up to and including the beginning of the present war. Of especial interest is an almost encyclopedic fund of material concerning the various interests and resources of the state—agriculture, minerals and mining, manufacturing, population, education, literature, journalism, art, and there is a chapter on "The Unusual and Significant in Missouri."

One of the reasons that the new history will be doubly welcome is its exceptional organization. It is thoroughly indexed and illustrated, and each chapter has its own bibliography attached.

Floyd Shoemaker has made this history a life labor as well as a labor of love He is indefatigable, has delved exhaustively into every source concerning his state. The sorting of manuscript material, the selection from it of subjects germane to his history, the tracing down and verifying of statements discovered in it—these activities alone have required years of effort.

The history as now presented represents Mr. Shoemaker's accumulated knowledge, and that knowledge makes him today the first authority on Missouriana.

[*Missouri and Missourians, Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements*, by Floyd Calvin Shoemaker (five volumes: the Lewis Publishing company, Chicago).

THE BATTLE OF THE SINK-HOLE

From the St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, February 16, 1861.

EDITOR MISSOURI REPUBLICAN:

"Here lie buried the City Council, the City Engineer and the Street Inspector." The above was neatly inscribed upon a board, representing a tomb-stone, and placed this morning on Fourteenth street, between Papin and the Pacific depot, at the end of one of those interesting sink-holes that have been so carefully preserved by our city fathers. There is no street or thoroughfare in the city, west of Fourth street, that is more used by pedestrians than this same part of Fourteenth. We suppose it is in consideration of this fact that the city authorities seem so anxious to preserve the spot in all its original loveliness. Beautiful little mounds are there, also water-falls, precipices and many little hollows that look like entrances to subterranean caverns. Lest any one in passing should fail to

observe the beauties of the place, numerous little irregularities, in the way of hillocks and hollows, have been placed along the foot-path, which have the effect of retarding one's footsteps, and causing one to look around. If one will still persist in passing heedlessly along, notwithstanding this last named invention, one will find one's self sliding down the picturesque precipice which yawns at the side of the path. The process of sliding down the precipice is greatly facilitated by the slippery nature of the mud, which, in wet weather, is generally about knee deep.

I came along this morning, about 8 o'clock, and found a number of persons standing around the newly made grave, with tears in their eyes and much mud upon their boots. As I stood and gazed, another came, and stopped reverently awhile before the tombstone—then, wiping the tears from his streaming eyes, he waded away, muttering as he went: "Alas! how have the mighty fallen."

MR. EDITOR, I want to make a public speech, and I want to deliver it on this same *beautiful* spot of ground. I want every person to attend, and I especially invite the City Fathers. As to the time—let me see—suppose we say the first morning after a night of steady rain. I hope, MR. EDITOR, you will come and hear me.

Very respectfully,

PEDESTRIAN.

THE ZOOT SUIT OF 1818

From the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, August 7, 1818

Fashions for Single Gentlemen.

Hat—Of black or white beaver, brim half an inch wide—change—a hat of white straw or chip, brim six inches wide, green or black ribbon. Hat must cock up behind and incline a little over the right or left eye—This must depend on which side of the street the gentleman walks.

Coat—Any colour but drab, made to button close up to the chin, buttons any shape but round; cape of velvet without regard to colour, & cut low in the neck. No pockets, sleeves long enough to hide the fingers.

Vest—White or black, two inches longer than the coat, to show a strip in front, when the coat is buttoned; collar shallow to show the cravat, with a steel or whalebone corset laced tight from the breast to the hips.

Cravat—Four or six, one over the other, according to the heat of the day; stuff, white cambric or black silk, drawn tight and knot at the lower edge.

Pantaloon—Cossack or mealsack cut, to reach within eight inches of the ankle. Colour, brown or blue, made to hang in graceful folds about the hips.

Boots—Short and laced before, heels four inches high, shod with steel and tapering to a point to give firmness to the step.

Watch Chain—Gold if possible, if not, black ribbon or braided hair

Watch—Of no consequence.

When a young gentleman is equiped as above he must wear long hair wisped up before in points, curled a little at the earlocks and hanging down in large bundles behind—a segar in his mouth, a dirk in his bosom, and a pistol on his posteriors, and a thundering oath on the end of his tongue, ready to burst upon the ears of the sober part of the community.

AND WOODEN NICKELS

From the *Missouri Whig*, April 24, 1841.

Cayenne Pepper Saw Dust.—The St. Louis Bulletin of the 4th inst. says: 'A gentleman of this city, yesterday, bro't us a bottle containing a quantity of *bay wood saw dust*, which he had bought for Cayenne pepper. The dust is so near the color of the real Cayenne that the best of judges would be deceived. To render the deception still more certain, a small sprinkling of Cayenne is found upon the top of the counterfeit. This beats wooden nutmegs and wooden hams 'all hollar.' Dealers in Cayenne pepper will do well to examine a little before they purchase.

BUYER BEWARE!

From the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer*, January 28, 1823.

We have been often amused at noticing the various *written* advertisements, &c. stuck up at public places, (some of which we have occasionally preserved as *literary curiosities*) the words and letters of which more frequently resemble the *Egyptian hieroglyphics* than plain English characters, & are sometimes as difficult to decypher We have been led to these remarks by the following note received from one of our agents:

“———Dec. 22, 1822.

"Every facility will be afforded those wishing to forward to you advertisements, &c.; but our citizens are quite selfish, not to say parsimonious. I have frequently observed notices stuck up, upon different subjects, without one word spelled correctly, not to say any thing of the penmanship, which frequently not only baffles the best of us to read, but is a task to the writer himself!"

OFF WITH THE PIKERS!

From the *Hannibal Tri-Weekly Messenger*, October 20, 1858.

HO! FOR PIKE'S PEAK.—Quite a large company of men are forming in this city to start for the "gold diggings" at Pike's Peak early in the Spring. The company is under the supervision of CAPT. BELL, who is an experienced guide, having travelled all through that country. There are about 45 persons already enlisted, and as many more are wanted.

SELLING CHICKENS TO THE LEGISLATURE

From the *Jefferson Inquirer*, October 2, 1852.

While the Legislature of Missouri was in session, a few years ago, a green fellow from the country came to Jefferson to sell some chickens.

He had about two dozen, all of which he had tied by the legs to a string, and this, being divided equally, and thrown across his horse or his shoulder, formed his mode of conveyance, leaving the fowls with their heads hanging down, with little else of them visible except their naked legs, and a promiscuous pile of outstretched wings and ruffled feathers. After several ineffectual efforts to dispose of his load, a wag, to whom he made an offer of sale, told him that he did not want chickens himself, but that perhaps he could sell them at that large stone house over there (the Capitol,) that there was a man over there buying, on speculation, for the St. Louis market, and no doubt he could find a ready sale.

The delighted countryman started, when his informer stopped him.

"Look here," says he. "when you get over there, go up stairs, and then turn to the left. The man stops in that large room. You will find him sitting up at the other end of the room, and is now engaged with a number of fellows buying chickens. If a man at the door should stop you don't mind him. He has got chickens himself for sale, and tries to prevent other people from selling theirs. Don't mind him, but go right ahead."

Following the directions, our friend soon found himself at the door of the Hall of Representatives. To open it and enter was the work of a moment. Taking from his shoulder the string of chickens, and giving them a shake, to freshen them, he commenced his journey towards the speaker's chair, the fowls, in the meantime, loudly expressing, from the half-form *crow* to the harsh *quark*, their bodily presence, and their sense of bodily pain.

"I say, sir,"—Here he had advanced about half down the aisle, when he was seized by Major Jackson, the doorkeeper, who happened to be returning from the clerk's desk.

"What the devil are you doing here with these chickens; get out, sir, get out," whispered the doorkeeper.

"No you dont, though, you can't come that game over me. You've got chickens yourself for sale, get out yourself, and let me sell mine. I say sir, (in a louder tone to the Speaker) are you buying chickens here to-day? I've got some prime ones here."

And he held up his string and shook his fowls until their music made the walls echo.

"Let me go, sir, (to the doorkeeper) let me go, I say. Fine large chickens (to the Speaker,) only six bits a dozen."

"Where's the Sergeant-at-arms," roared the Speaker—"take that man out."

"Now don't, will you, I ain't hard to trade with. You let me go (to the doorkeeper,) you've sold your chickens, now let me have a chance. I say, sir, (to the Speaker in a louder tone) are you buying chickens to?"—

"Go ahead," "at him again," "that's right," whispered some of the opposition members, who could command gravity enough to speak—"at him again." "He'll buy them." "He only wants you to take less—at him again."

"I say, sir, (in a louder tone to the Speaker)—cuss your pictures let me go—fair play—two to one ain't fair (to the Doorkeeper and Sergeant-at-arms,) let me go; I say, sir, you up there (to the Speaker,) you can have 'em for six bits! won't take a cent less. Take 'em home and eat 'em myself before I'll take—Drat your hides, don't shove so hard, will you! you'll hurt them chickens, and they have had a travel of it today, anyhow. I say you sir up there"—

Here the voice was lost by the closing of the door. An adjournment was moved, and carried, and the members, almost frantic with mirth, rushed out to find our friend in high altercation with the doorkeeper about the meanness of selling his own chickens and letting nobody else sell theirs, adding that "if he could just see that man up there by himself he'd be bound they could make a trade, and that no man could afford to raise chickens for less than six bits."

The members bought his fowls by a pony purse, and our friend left the Capitol, saying, as he went down the stairs,

"Well, this is the darndest roughest place for selling chickens that ever I come across, sure."

MISSOURI

Written by Clyde E. Tuck for the dedication of the Capitol building at Jefferson City, October 6, 1924.

The voice of prophecy men heard
 In distant climes long years ago,
 The spirit of adventure stirred
 Within their breasts and set aglow
 Ambition's fire new states to found;
 Their course was ever westward bent
 Until they reached your wondrous ground,
 The heart of a great continent.

Here paused their covered wagon train
 Until they saw you proudly stand
 Upon your prairies rich with grain,
 And fruited hills; held in your hand
 The torch to light the path that leads
 To amity and brotherhood,
 Until mankind your message reads,
 And liberty is understood.

Old trails from out your border led
 To Santa Fe and Mexico,
 To plains on which the bison fed,
 To gold beyond Sierra's snow

That lured the men of "Forty-nine,"
To where sea winds the palms caress,
Or wave the northern fir and pine
In Oregon's vast wilderness.

The argosies of commerce ride
Your long, swift rivers to the sea,
Where once the savage in his pride,
For centuries, contented, free,
Held lordly sway until there came
The brave La Salle, the pioneers,
And Boone, with spirits all aflame
With visions of the future years.

In dreams they saw before them rise
Your inland empire of renown—
And still there gleams from your fair skies
The star of destiny to crown
With peace and might and affluence
Those who the light of truth revere,
Who law and justice reverence,
And build a shrine to Freedom here!

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

- Agricultural History*, April: "Agricultural Frontiers in the United States: Advancing Across the Eastern Mississippi Valley" by Russell H. Anderson.
- American-German Review*, April: "A Forgotten Pioneer of Westphalia, Missouri" by W. A. Willibrand; June: "The Hegelization of the West" by Henry A. Pochmann.
- American Journal of Public Health*, May: "Integration of Medical Care into the Health Program in Rural Missouri" by J. W. Williams, Jr.
- Annals of Iowa*, April: "Frontier War Problems, Letters of Samuel Ryan Curtis."
- California Historical Society Quarterly*, March: "A Doctor Comes to California, The Dairy of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847" edited by George W. Ames, Jr.
- Chronicles of Oklahoma*, March: "James Carson Jamison, 1830-1916" by Robert L. Williams.
- Colorado Magazine*, May, July: "Memoirs of Marian Russell" by Mrs. Hal Russell.
- Hereford Swine Journal*, May-June: "History of the Kansas City Stock Yards."
- Indiana Magazine of History*, June: "A Hoosier Invades the Confederacy: Letters and Diary of Leroy S. Mayfield" edited by John D. Barnhart.

- Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, January: "Discussion in the Continental Congress Relative to Surrendering the Right to Navigate the Mississippi River" edited by James A. Padgett.
- Mark Twain Quarterly*, Fall-Winter, 1942-1943: "The Jim Johnson—A Lost Legend of the Missouri River" by Donald Grant Cullimore.
- Mid-America*, July: "Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River, 1790" by Colton Storm.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June: "The Oregon Country, 1810-1830: A Chapter in Territorial Expansion" by Charles H. Ambler.
- Missouri Bar Journal*, March: "The University of Kansas City School of Law" by Elmer N. Powell.
- Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, July: "George Turner, Part I: The Background of a Statesman" by Claudius O. Johnson.
- Scientific Monthly*, July: "Quinine: The Story of Cinchona" by Norman Taylor.
- State and Local History News*, May: "Rockefeller Historical Grant."
- Washington University Law Quarterly*, April: "The Judicial Art of Wiley B. Rutledge" by Ralph F. Fuchs.









